

Byzantine Houses and Modern Fictions

Domesticating Mystras in 1930s Greece

KOSTIS KOURELIS

Introduction

Domestic buildings are largely absent from the history of Byzantine architecture. From its foundation in the nineteenth century, “Christian archaeology” gave priority to churches. At various moments in the history of scholarship, however, a discussion of houses and their urban manifestation emerges in the intellectual horizons. Such deviations bear particular interest, because they arise out of a contemporary anxiety about the nature of dwelling and social identity. The houses of Mystras became the centerpiece of Byzantine archaeology during the 1930s. Mystras received the bulk of restoration resources devoted to any medieval site in Greece, with the explicit goal of showcasing Byzantine civilization to a domestic and international audience. The exceptionalism of Mystras is attributed to the city’s importance in Palaiologan culture during the final centuries of Byzantium, as well as to its extraordinary state of preservation (thanks to continuous inhabitation in Ottoman and early modern times). The site’s proximity to ancient Sparta had earned Mystras unprecedented fame already during the eighteenth century, but atten-

tion to its urban ensemble emerged in the 1930s under the direction of Anastasios K. Orlandos. Orlandos’s architectural investigations shaped Mystras into the paradigmatic late Byzantine city. With some minor refinements in dating, the scholarly assessment of the houses of Mystras is based entirely on the work of Orlandos, whose activities on the site also defined the methodological apparatus of Byzantine archaeology in Greece during the twentieth century.

This paper argues that the houses of Mystras, as explicated in the scholarship of the 1930s, are a fictive construct that successfully domesticated for a national narrative the challenges of modernity. Heavy-handed restorations, moreover, transformed those fictions into tangible masonry, completing a seamless hermeneutic circle that has evaded scholarship. This article, through a reading of contemporary texts ranging from historical novels to tourist posters, offers a view of Mystras that is different from its scholarly reception. Mystras will be understood as a constructed city intended to offer an experiential Byzantium. Disguised in the detritus of daily life, this Byzantium is perfectly integrated into the lived present. The fictions intentionally hide the seams between past and present. Any attempt, therefore, to reveal the “real” Byzantine houses, it is suggested, necessitates the ideological dissection of the fictions that originally created them.

Orlandos’s constructions, whether in words, drawings, or masonry, disappoint all hope of experiencing an authentic Byzantium. Unless a new systematic

• A version of this paper was given at the 2009 Dumbarton Oaks Spring Symposium, “Morea: The Land and Its People in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade,” organized by Sharon E. J. Gerstel. The paper has benefited greatly from the contributions of all the speakers of the conference. A working draft was made available online (www.scribd.com) and received helpful feedback from William R. Caraher, Diana Wright, Guy D. R. Sanders, Camilla MacKay, and Celina L. Gray. Margaret Mullett and the anonymous reviewers helped immensely in the final version.

archaeological exploration takes place, the houses of Orlandos will continue to obfuscate all physical readings of Mystras. Decoupling the subjective filters of art history's founding fathers and their object of study is an exercise that has borne significant fruits in Byzantine studies. A growing number of revisionist critiques illustrates the profound fragility of art history's narratives when formulated by extra-scholarly agendas in the early twentieth century. Contextualizing bodies of scholarship in the cultural environment that produced them has injected skepticism in the foundational theories of Josef Strzygowski, Gabriel Millet, Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, and André Grabar, as well as the operative mechanisms in the assemblage of major art collections at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹ Rather than performing "smug snap judgments"² of scholarly patricide, historiographic investigations allow us to appreciate art history's disciplinary influence in the mythopoetic construction of nations and empires. In other words, a study of the circumstances of the 1930s does not delegitimize Orlandos's scholarship but rather elucidates larger

contributions that he made in the construction of a national identity. Orlandos's legacy in modern Greek culture far outweighs the scholarly contributions for which he is predominantly applauded.

Mystras is a unique "ghost city," a fantastic repository for the national veneration of late Hellenism.³ Like the Acropolis in Athens, Mystras is a heterotopia in the Foucauldian sense, a site that operates beyond archaeological fact; it constructs an ideological *topos* and a national discourse.⁴ Collapsing historical time in experiential space has been a component central to the enterprise of Modern Greece. The socio-imaginary institutions of the state accumulated an ontology "more *real* than the 'real'."⁵ Like many classical sites, medieval Mystras has been simultaneously claimed by competing European and Greek national identities. The city was founded in 1249 by the Latin prince of the Morea, William II Villehardouin, and thus offered medieval precedent for modern imperialism. Goethe capitalized on this Gothic pedigree and ushered Mystras into the annals of literature as the site of Faust's marriage with Helen.⁶ After the Battle of Pelagonia, Mystras became a Byzantine satellite in 1262 and, from 1348 to 1460, housed members of the imperial house as the capital of the despotate of the Morea. In the fourteenth century, it became a beacon of late Hellenism and sowed the seeds of a Greek nationalism. Clouded by a thick ideological aura, the cultural magnitude of Mystras could oscillate from "a Paris of the eastern Mediterranean" to "little more than a village," depending on the beholder's

1 C. Maranci, "Armenian Architecture as Aryan Architecture: The Role of Indo-European Studies in the Theories of Josef Strzygowski," *Visual Resources* 13 (1998): 363–80; eadem, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven, 2001); T. F. Mathews, "The Mistake of the Emperor Mystique," in *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1993), 3–22; P. Mackridge, "R. M. Dawkins and Byzantium," in *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes. Papers from the Twenty-ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, March 1995*, ed. R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys (Aldershot, 2000), 185–95; K. Kourelis, "The Greek School of Byzantine Architecture: Gabriel Millet's National Construct" (forthcoming); R. S. Nelson, "Private Passions Made Public: The Beginnings of the Bliss Collection," in *Sacred Art, Secular Context: Objects of Art from the Byzantine Collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., Accompanied by American Paintings from the Collection of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss*, ed. A. Kirin (Athens, GA, 2005), 39–51; H. Evans, "Byzantium at the Metropolitan Museum," *BSCAbstr* 31 (2005): 38.

2 In his review of Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, Peter Brown expressed a categorical discomfort with revisionist historiography: "It is sad to see the wheel come full circle. Smug snap judgments on the cultural and political background of European academics are now used, as in this book, to delegitimize the contribution of a major scholarly tradition, by hinting that those who contributed to it were right-wing, monarchist, even sympathetic to Fascism": P. Brown, "Review," *ArtB* 77 (1995): 500. See also T. F. Mathews, "Reply to Peter Brown," *ArtB* 78 (1996): 178.

3 "Ghost city," borrowed from J. Freely, "Foreword," in S. Runciman, *Lost Capital of Byzantium: The History of Mistra and the Peloponnese* (London, 2009), 3–6.

4 M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. J. Miskiewicz, *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 22–27. For the application of Foucault's heterotopia in modern Greek culture, see A. Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), 40–66; D. Plantzos, "Archaeology and Hellenic Identity, 1896–2004: The Frustrated Vision," in *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece*, ed. D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos (Athens, 2008), 14. For Byzantine heterotopias, see G. Peers, "Utopia and Heterotopia: Byzantine Modernisms in America," *Studies in Medievalism* 19 (2010): 77–113.

5 S. Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford, 1996), 15.

6 For a comprehensive history of Mystras and its monuments, see S. Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London, 1980); M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras: The Medieval City and the Castle* (Athens, 1981).

agenda.⁷ This essay explores how the houses of Mystras were deployed in the subjective construction of the site. In the absence of any comparable domestic architecture, the houses of Mystras were fabricated as a new home for a modern Greek conscience. They should be understood as cultural artifacts of the early twentieth century rather than as primary evidence for life in the Middle Ages. In the absence of any stratigraphic facts, this paper excavates the fictional stratigraphy layered upon the city's domestic fabric. As with the castles of Western Europe, fact and fiction created a provocative house of cards, an experiential version of history that deflected cultural anxieties over national identity, ethnicity, modernity, and social change while producing an enduring Romantic lens. We must, moreover, assert that Mystras is a work in progress that tells us more about the present than the medieval past.

In their newest twenty-first-century incarnation, the houses of Mystras continue to engage in the mythopoetics of modernity (and now postmodernity). A 2001 exhibition, "Byzantine Hours," gathered the accumulated mystique of Mystras in the form of an "outdoors museum"⁸ intended to show how "the foundation of Mystras is still a symbol of the revival of the Greek element and gives fullest expression to the new form taken by Byzantine Hellenism."⁹ The 2001 exhibition revived the 1930s notion that the entire town be treated like a museum. Like no other Byzantine archaeological site, the highly manipulated stage set is evoked for its aura of experiential Hellenism. When Greece's political agenda shifted from the ultra-nationalism of the twentieth into the European multiculturalism of the twenty-first century, Mystras adjusted as a site of multi-ethnic vitality and global heritage.¹⁰ Extensive restorations at the Palace of the Despots have recently adapted the ruins into a European conference center (fig. 1). Mystras now musters a corporate pan-European identity and, like the new Acropolis Museum, claims status and prestige

in the global arena.¹¹ All Greek citizens carry an icon of this projected identity every time they travel abroad; the European Union passports for Greece contain an engraving of Mystras, which, like the accompanying images from Periclean Athens, visually formulates Greece's cultural visa.¹² Understanding the poetic genesis of the houses of Mystras in the 1930s becomes critical in helping to decode the complex relationship between present and past, between monuments and the projection of Romantic ideals. The purpose of this paper is not to substitute for a false Mystras a more correct version of reality but to illustrate the constructive mechanisms of archaeology as a discipline.

Orlandos's landmark essay "The Palaces and Houses of Mystras" lifted a heavy veil of ignorance that covered Byzantine domestic architecture in 1937.¹³ Leon de Beylie's 1901 study on Byzantine houses may already have broken some ground, but its reliance on the depiction of houses in manuscripts and icons could not count as archaeological science.¹⁴ But the real physical Mystras offered something more vital and more appropriate to the dramatic needs of the 1930s. Orlandos writes, "Mystras's private dwellings, palaces, fortifications, winding roads and springs add up to a unique totality." Mystras is "a complete Byzantine city, lacking only its inhabitants."¹⁵ And this is where our interpretive problem begins. Orlandos, along with generations of scholars before and after him, did not

7 C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986), 84; B. Knös, "Gémiste Pléthon et son souvenir," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 9 (1950): 103; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1985), 12.

8 D. Eugenidou, "Ωρες Βυζαντίου, Έργα και Ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο," *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 56–59, no. 1 (2001–4) [2010]: 8–9.

9 A. Avramea, "Byzantine Towns," in *Byzantine Hours: Works and Days in Byzantium* (Athens, 2001), 31.

10 In 1989 Mystras was included in the UNESCO Worldwide Heritage List.

11 For Mystras's most recent restorations, see *Τα μνημεία του Μυστρά: Το έργο της επιτροπής αναστήλωσης μνημείων Μυστρά*, ed. S. Sinos (Athens, 2009). The new Acropolis Museum was designed by Bernard Tschumi, whose deconstructivist theories (and past collaboration with Jacques Derrida) have been entirely underplayed by his Greek patrons; see B. Tschumi Architects, *The New Acropolis Museum* (New York, 2009).

12 "Periklis Makes a Speech in Pnyka," and "Agia Sophia, Mystras," Greek Passport, 1, 28–29.

13 A. K. Orlandos, "Τα παλάτια και σπίτια του Μυστρά," *Αρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ.* Έλλ. 3 (1937): 3–114, reprinted as a book (Athens, 2000); henceforth, pagination refers to the reprint edition. In 1968, Orlandos delivered a paper in Venice, which offered some additional observations and drawings; A. K. Orlandos, "Quelques notes complémentaires sur les maisons paléologiques de Mistra," in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968* (Venice, 1971), 73–82.

14 L. de Beylie, *L'habitation byzantine: Recherches sur l'architecture civile des byzantins et son influence en Europe* (Paris, 1902).

15 Orlandos, "Παλάτια και σπίτια," 10.



FIG. 1 Restoration and adaptation of Palace of the Despot into conference center, 2000, author's photograph

approach the site's domestic architecture and urbanism for the sake of objective truth. More crucial was the sensory experience of the distant past choreographed in a large archaeological stage set. Occasionally, modern scholars admit that the site offers more flavor than substance; it is not "entirely medieval" but "preserves, better than any other site, the flavor of a Late Byzantine town," writes Cyril Mango.¹⁶ A modern need to taste the Byzantine past has created the insidious illusion that "the houses of Mistra are among the best-preserved examples from Byzantium."¹⁷ And thanks to Christian archaeology's self-defined focus on churches, the paucity of comparative data allows the fiction to survive.¹⁸

16 C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 286.

17 *ODB* 2:1383.

18 The official name for medieval archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was "Christian archaeology." On the birth of Christian archaeology in the Mediterranean, see J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge,

Orlando's romance reigns unchallenged with only few amendments and elaborations.

The responsibility does not fall entirely on Orlando's shoulders and his flawed archaeology, but rather on a larger cultural environment that needed fictions more than facts, and favored simulacra over reality. Mystras is no ordinary site, but a mythopoetic topos on which Western civilization has waged its battles. It is a vessel of national and international veneration. In the 1930s it was selected as the monument that could alone bridge a much-needed gap between the monumental aura of the Athenian Acropolis and the modern nation-state. Medieval architecture in Western Europe played a no less nationalist role during the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century. Whether an imagined castle in Otranto or a physical Notre Dame cathedral in

1995). For a historiographic overview of medieval archaeology, see C. M. Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology: Understanding Traditions and Contemporary Approaches* (London, 2003).

Paris, European medieval monuments unleashed the Romantic imagination.¹⁹ The nation-state created after the Greek Revolution had its *raison-d'être* in Ancient Greece and hence could not tolerate the Middle Ages. A Byzantine Revival was inconceivable in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. It emerged in Greece belatedly, in the twentieth century, and was based on notions of Romantic historicism. Just as the American intellectual of 1907 faced a profound choice between the classical academicism of Edward Gibbon and the creative medievalism of John Ruskin, the Greek intellectual of 1914 was confronted with the stagnating paradigm of classical antiquarianism and the creativity offered by the discovery of a vibrant Byzantium.²⁰ Ion Dragoumis, the most influential intellectual spokesman of a new "Hellenism," defined the choice. According to his milestone essay "Greek Civilization," the generative creativity of Byzantium was interrupted by the Ottoman conquest. Modern Greece's task was to pick up from 1453 and, with Byzantium as its guide, generate a new creative life force.²¹ Byzantium and modernity were one continuum, incidentally interrupted by an Ottoman interlude. Consequently, Modern Greece's relationship to Byzantine material culture should be subjective and creative. In contrast to the material culture of antiquity, the walls of Byzantium were malleable. The Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Great Idea (Μεγάλη Ιδέα) of Greece unleashed the fervor of a liberated national imagination, turning Mystras into a Romantic laboratory.

Orlandos (1887–1979) was a Greek architect, archaeologist, restorer, and pioneer of Byzantine archaeology.²² He received his undergraduate degree

in engineering and architecture from the Polytechnic University (1908) and a Ph.D. from the University of Athens (1915). His intellectual legacy crystallized while he taught generations of architects and archaeologists at both his alma maters (1920s–50s) and was at the same time the most powerful individual in the discipline of historic preservation in Greece. Orlandos served as restorations director of ancient monuments in the Greek Ministry of Education from 1917 to 1958. This office allowed him to excavate hundreds of early Christian and Byzantine monuments, as well as to institutionalize the attitudes and methods of Greek historic preservation for the twentieth century. Orlandos also founded a journal, the primary function of which was to catalogue the very monuments he was investigating. The *Archive of Byzantine Monuments in Greece* was published from 1935 to 1973. It was directly modeled on Konstantinos Kourouniotis's *Index of Greek Monuments*, which included Georgios Soteriou's 1926 index of *The Medieval Monuments of Attica*.²³ Orlandos's *Archive*, to which he was the sole contributor, remains the most ambitious initiative by any Greek agency to provide an inventory of monuments.²⁴ Rather than simply announcing new discoveries made directly by its author, the *Archive* authenticated and institutionalized the official monuments of Greece's national heritage.²⁵ In the wordplay of Jacques Derrida the notion of a modern archive is ultimately domestic, for he regards the etymological origins of "archive" as

19 H. Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (London, 1764); V. Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1832); C. Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1999); M. J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (New York, 2002), 24–80.

20 For the conflict between Gibbon and Ruskin in America, see H. Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1907; repr. New York, 1983), 359.

21 I. Dragoumis, *Ελληνικός πολιτισμός* (Alexandria, 1914; repr. Athens, 1993).

22 Unfortunately, Orlandos's biography has not been written. Bibliographical information can be found in a three-volume Festschrift, *Χαριστήριο εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδου* (Athens, 1966). Biographic testaments are found in a celebratory volume published on the occasion of his 90th birthday, *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος: Ο άνθρωπος και το έργο του* (Athens, 1978). Short obituaries and encyclopedic entries are found in J. Heurgon, *Comptes rendus de*

l'Académie des inscriptions 123, no. 3 (1979): 512–14, and "Orlandos, Anastasios K. (1888–1979)," in *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, ed. N. T. de Grummond (Westport, CT, 1996), 2:829.

23 G. A. Soteriou, *Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Αττικής, Αθηνών, Ευρετήριο των μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, ed. K. Kourouniotis (Athens, 1927). On the intellectual significance of Orlandos's *Archeion*, see M. Chatzedakis, "Το Αρχείο Βυζαντινών Μνημείων Ελλάδος και η πρωτοποριακή σημασία του," in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος*, 145–60.

24 The cataloguing enterprise continued at the "Σπουδαστήριο," the architectural history research seminar in the Polytechnic University assembled by Charalambos Bouras and his students. Unlike Orlandos's *Archeion*, this enterprise was never published and is hardly known by scholars outside of Greece. Although assembled in a digital era, it was never digitized. Almost a century after the early attempts to assemble a catalogue of Byzantine monuments in Greece, no such comprehensive catalogue has been completed.

25 Architectural historians of the 21st century are continuously frustrated by Orlandos's *Archeion* reports, because contextual archaeological data (such as relationship between objects, strata, and walls) is systematically missing.

harking back to the ancient Greek archons and their houses, where historical repositories first resided.²⁶ In just this way Orlandos's Byzantine houses are presented as archon houses (*archontika*) and, thus, the object of study and the vehicle of publication conflate domestic hegemony in 1937.

"Palaces and Houses of Mystras," published in the third year of the *Archive*, thus embraced the urban remains of Mystras and, for the first time in the history of the Greek nation, legitimized Byzantine domestic architecture. Orlandos's earliest presentation of the houses of Mystras took place a decade before their official publication. In 1924 (and again in 1934), Orlandos delivered a preliminary report to the annual meeting of the Greek Society of Byzantine Studies.²⁷ In 1930, when the world's Byzantinists gathered in Athens, Orlandos made sure that the scholarly audience experienced the city of Mystras directly. As secretary general for the Third International Congress of Byzantinists, Orlandos organized a special field trip to Mystras, ensuring that the delegates received a half-price discount in their travel expenses.²⁸ When the same international body of Byzantinists met again at Sofia in 1934, Orlandos gave a presentation on the houses of Mystras, the first display of the material outside Greece.²⁹ He published "Palaces and Houses of Mystras" in his *Archive* three years later. The domestic and urban spaces of Mystras thus entered the historical canon in 1937. Supplemented on a couple of later occasions, Orlandos's presentation of Mystras in 1937 remains the fundamental version of the medieval city.³⁰

If Orlandos's perspective on Mystras had been superseded by more rigorous archaeological scholarship during the last seventy-five years, "Palaces and Houses of Mystras" could be dismissed as a quaint example of

early scholarship, perhaps even a necessary step along an evolutionary scholarly process. Mystras, however, never matured beyond its Orlandian inception. The site's theatrical transformation into a national shrine turned the houses from a collection of miserable ruins into a sacred stage that could not be violated by the archaeologist's trowel. Hence, Orlandos's perspective remains fossilized despite subsequent attempts to rectify his chronologies.³¹ If modern archaeology resembles surgery, then the body of Mystras has become inviolable and not to be subjected to incision. Since Orlandos's Mystras is the only Mystras we have left, we must begin our analysis by addressing the project's fundamental presumptions, innovations, and shortcomings. After assessing "Palaces and Houses of Mystras" in relation to archaeological objectivity, we will survey the cultural environment that elevated the houses of Mystras above those of other medieval sites. Like other Crusader monuments, the site of Mystras was first deployed to legitimize European colonialism in the eastern Mediterranean of the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, Greece and its state-sponsored intellectuals had to repackage Mystras as a site of Hellenic nationalism. As with the European Gothic Revival, the Byzantine discovery of Mystras occurred in a Romantic space, engaged with both literary and material culture. As literature was translated into monuments, Mystras took center stage in the need to experience the Middle Ages directly. Finally, the houses of Mystras played an important role in naturalizing modernist architecture and transforming the urban character of twentieth-century Greece.

26 J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. E. Prenowitz (Chicago, 1995), 2–3.

27 "Πρακτικά της Εταιρείας βυζαντινών σπουδών, Συνεδρία 7η της 2ας Φεβρουαρίου 1923," *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 1 (1924): 345–46; "Επιστημονικαί ανακοινώσεις, Συνεδρία 62η της 15ης Δεκεμβρίου 1934," *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 11 (1935): 535–36.

28 A. K. Orlandos, ed., *III^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Athènes, 1930: compte-rendu* (Athens, 1932).

29 *Actes du IV^e congrès international des études byzantines, Sofia, Septembre 1934* (Sofia, 1936), 2:168.

30 A. K. Orlandos, "Συμπληρωματικά παρατηρήσεις περί των Παλαιολόγειων οικιών του Μυστρά," *Λακ.Σπ.* 2 (1975): 77–84; "Quelques notes" (above, n. 13).

31 For recent work on Mystras's houses and palaces, see G. Velenis, "Wohnviertel und Wohnhausbau in den byzantinischen Städten," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (Berlin, 1978), 227–36; A. G. Kalligas and H. A. Kalligas, "Το σπίτι του Λάσκαρη στο Μυστρά," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.Ετ.*, 4th ser., 13 (1985–86): 261–78; S. Sinos, "Beobachtungen zur Konstruktion des spätbyzantinischen Palastes von Mystras," in *Erhalten historisch bedeutsamer Bauwerke* (Karlsruhe, 1986), 70–87; S. Sinos, "Organisation und Form der byzantinischen Paläster von Mystras," *Architectura* 17 (1987): 105–28; S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjistryphonos, *Secular Architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and Its Preservation* (Thessalonike, 1997), 76–79, 242–45. Acquiring a permit to study aspects of the city of Mystras was notably difficult for both Greek and non-Greek scholars. Since it was no ordinary site, the archaeological service in practice reserved Mystras for itself, especially during the 1990s and 2000s.

Archaeology without Stratigraphy

Orlandos begins the discussion of Mystras with some methodological observations on the difficulties of studying domestic architecture. “When we talk of Byzantine architecture or Byzantine painting the works of ecclesiastical examples come almost unconsciously to mind.” Orlandos justifies this on the religious sentiment “among our [Greek] ancestors,” presuming that Byzantines were extraordinarily pious people. Orlandos proceeds with two insightful observations. One reason private structures do not survive, he argues, is because they were built with less investment, permanence, and effort than churches, and hence they were more prone to deterioration. Second, as houses change ownership generationally, they are continuously renovated. Responding to new fashions and social needs, houses develop organically, destroying the traces of their original designs. Orlandos, therefore, admits the complexities in relative chronology inherent in domestic architecture and shows some comprehension of archaeological theory. But this is the extent of his methodological engagement. He proceeds to claim that Mystras is so exceptional that it defies all the depositional complexities of domestic architecture. “Even if the remains of domestic architecture are generally rare or even nonexistent, there is one place where they are preserved plentifully,” on the foothills of Taygetos, in the dead city of the Kantakouzenoi and the Palaiologoi.³²

After asserting the exceptional status of Mystras, Orlandos gives a scholarly overview of the very poor state of knowledge of Byzantine houses. The lack of comparative material justifies Mystras’s exceptionalism. The circularity of Orlandos’s argument is immediately evident, although his goal is to fill the gap with new knowledge. Beyond its good state of preservation, Mystras is an exceptional site for its prominence in the textual sources. Following the well-trodden principles of Christian archaeology, Orlandos proceeds to attach historical meaning to masonry by joining monuments to historical events known from literary sources. Unlike the acropolis of Mystras, the citadel of which is attributed to the Frankish foundation of the city, the urban development of Mystras, occurring after the Battle of Pelagonia and the Frankish surrender of the

site, is attributed entirely to Greeks. The fundamental problem in Orlandos’s presentation of Mystras is the seemingly arbitrary nature of ascribing cultural and periodic meaning to formal features. Architectural elements like pointed arches, for instance, are taken as evidence for a Gothic style. Since the houses are dated to the Byzantine period, their Gothic style is not attributed directly to French masons but regarded as a style that survived into the Greek reconquest. No attempt is made to explain the medium of transmission of such architectural ideas. The presence of Gothic windows becomes a device that dates the building to the earlier chronological horizon of occupation. Conversely, any building with rounded arches is assigned to a Byzantine style and is dated to a later chronological horizon. Without recourse to evidence beyond stylistic features, Orlandos creates a simplistic typology by which he categorizes all the architecture of the site. Buildings with Gothic arches are dated to 1250–1350, while buildings with rounded arches are dated to 1350–1460.

Unlike churches, in which the maintenance of cult is devoted to memory, houses lack textual signifiers. In order to return anonymous architecture to the realm of history, the houses of Mystras needed to be archived or literally assigned to the elite ownership of Byzantine archons. Orlandos assigned domestic materiality to textual personages despite the thin evidence. Mystras contains hundreds of foundation walls, but Orlandos singled out twenty-three “urban” (*astikai*) houses in addition to the Palace of the Despots and the smaller palaces.³³ The Greek word “urban” implies that a bourgeois class occupied the houses.³⁴ A house with triple bays near the church of St. Nicholas, for example, is called *archontikon* following Millet’s earlier identification as the *petit palais*. The vocabulary of *archontikon* contains a diachronic identification between Byzantine magistrate or a modern house dweller. By excluding the possibility that the house owners could have been peasants, farmers, or shepherds, Orlandos felt compelled to identify these elite middle-class occupants by name, where none had survived. The publication of such archons’ dwellings in an official *Archive* completed a discursive loop between physical and textual regimes. In the process, two urban houses—the House of Laskaris and the House of Phrangopoulos—have been

33 Ibid., 77.

34 *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* (Thessalonike, 2007), 220.

32 Orlandos, “Παλάτια και σπίτια” (above, n. 13), 9.

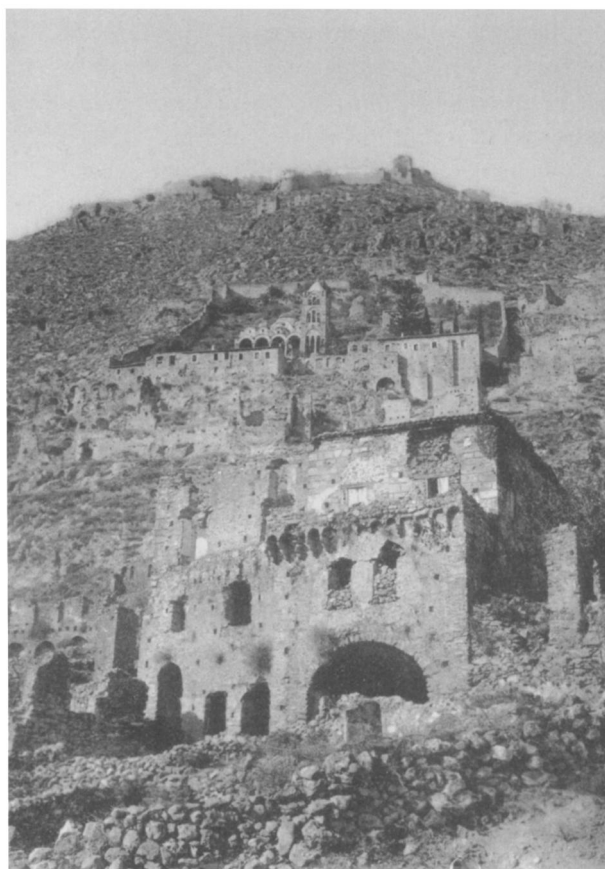


FIG. 2 House of Laskaris in 1893 before restoration, G. Millet et al., *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl. IV.1



FIG. 3 House of Laskaris in 2000, author's photograph

assigned artificial archival ownership (figs. 2 and 3). Whether true or not, the names assign to nameless masonry prosopographic significance, which is then absorbed into all future site plans and scholarly documents. Examining Orlando's baptizing process reveals a process of byzantinizing creativity.

The House of Laskaris was given its name because a villager at Mystras remembered an owner by the name of Laskaris.³⁵ The designation Laskaris, therefore, testifies to the continuous inhabitation of Mystras through post-Byzantine history. Mystras was a provincial capital visited by early travelers, who published accounts of it.³⁶ The houses of Mystras were occupied through the

Ottoman, Venetian, and modern Greek periods, a continuity that was at odds with the notion of a perfectly preserved Byzantine Pompeii. Mystras ceased to be a center of urban significance in 1834, when the modern city of Sparta was planned by Otto, king of Greece. Despite the demographic pull of a neoclassical city, Mystras was not entirely abandoned. Millet's photographic survey documents signs of life in 1893, including wooden shutters on the windows and the occasional inhabitant looking out at the camera.³⁷ In (re)constructing a pure Byzantine city out of a Romantic ruin, Orlando disguises a fundamental tension between the

35 Orlando, "Παλάτια και σπίτια," 150.

36 In the 19th century, four neighborhoods were visible: "Kastro, Kato Khorio, Meso Khorio, and Exo Khorio," in J. Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London, 1884), 2:487. For an

overview of Mystras in the 18th and 19th centuries, see Runciman, *Mistra* (above, n. 6).

37 For instance, G. Millet et al., *Monuments byzantins de Mistra: Matériaux pour l'étude de l'architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1910), pl. 13.4.

contemporary inhabitants of Mystras and the power of the state as expressed in the agency of monument restorations that Orlandos directed. Orlandos is careful to steer away from the issue of property, because the houses of Mystras continued to be privately owned. The contemporary residents had to be erased, and Orlandos's job as director of restorations was to evict those few remaining inhabitants through condemnation via eminent domain. At a meeting of the Greek Society of Byzantine Studies on 15 December 1934, Orlandos notes that he had evicted the inhabitants of the House of Laskaris.³⁸ Ironically, the very people who gave the house its legendary name were displaced so that the imagined Byzantines could move back in. Erasing the postmedieval history of Mystras not only supported an idealized Byzantine city but also allowed the state to appropriate properties owned by economically powerless peasants. In more visible urban contexts, such evictions received vocal resistance by the Greek public.³⁹ They were encouraged in lower-class neighborhoods and served as a process of cleansing and gentrification. The 1922 Greek-Turkish exchange of populations created a refugee crisis. Squatting and the creation of shanty towns on sites of archaeological significance created anxieties among the archaeological community and led to controversial decisions.⁴⁰ Glarentza, the Frankish foundation in the western Peloponnese, was exactly contemporary with Mystras. Unlike Mystras, however, it lacked an obvious Palaiologan pedigree and was given over to refugees from Asia Minor.⁴¹

38 "Επιστημονικά ανακοινώσεις" (above, n. 27), 536.

39 The nationalizing of archaeological real estate took the form of class warfare. Maria Kaika, for example, discusses the clearing of the Ilissos River (which produced the Ilissos Basilica excavations) as a mechanism to transform a lower-class neighborhood into an upper-class neighborhood: "Interrogating the Geographies of the Familiar: Domesticating Nature and Constructing the Autonomy of the Modern Home," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 28 (2004): 265–86.

40 The Greek archaeological service gave American archaeologists unique privileges to excavate the Athenian Agora in order to prevent refugees from settling in this location; see N. Sakka, "The Excavation of the Ancient Agora of Athens: The Politics of Commissioning and Managing the Project," in *Singular Antiquity* (above, n. 4), 111–23.

41 Relying too heavily on literary sources, Greek archaeologists believed that Glarentza was demolished by the Palaiologoi and, thus, was purely Latin in its material culture. Recent excavations by Demetris Athanasoulis have revealed that the visible walls at the citadel of Glarentza are not Frankish but date to 1441–42 and are,

The second famous house of Mystras, the House of Phrangopoulos, was also inhabited in the twentieth century. Elements of the façade were manipulated by its owners as late as 1908, and those restorations were documented by Adolf Struck.⁴² The local inhabitants, however, had no name for this structure, unlike the House of Laskaris. While documenting the physical masonry, Orlandos discovered a decorative detail with the Greek letter Φ. Desperate to give prosopographic flesh to the bones of a recently abandoned house, Orlandos arbitrarily connected the letter Φ to Ioannis Phrangopoulos, a historical personage documented as a Byzantine official in the court of Constantine Palaiologos. Phrangopoulos was credited with renovating the monastery of Pantanassa, but his residence in this house was fabricated from a simple letter decoration.⁴³

Orlandos's imaginative history is problematic in two fundamental ways. First, the assignment of fixed or relative chronologies is based on indirect stylistic evidence. Second, all post-Byzantine agents are suppressed. In order to make the houses of Mystras proudly Byzantine, the Ottoman phase of the site is blatantly erased—in the case of the mosque of Mystras, razed to its foundations (fig. 4). No attempt is made to explain the relationship between the mosque and the adjacent palaces, since this contiguity would taint the national character of the latter. When Mehmed II conquered Mystras on 29 May 1460, the city continued to serve as the local seat of power. Even in light of epigraphic evidence, Orlandos is dismissive. For instance, he notes a 1465 inscription in the Palace of the Despots, along with drawings of ships, animals, shepherds, and warriors. The date is five years after the Ottoman conquest, when the space would have been used by the Turkish military authorities. Orlandos acknowledges the existence of such elements, especially when they are impossible to dismiss. In his introduction, he admits that the architecture of Mystras may date as late as 1700, but he never seriously entertains the possibility.⁴⁴ This is not to suggest that the houses of Mystras should all be

thus, sister monuments to Palaiologan Mystras; see D. Athanasoulis, *Γλαπέντζα-Clarence* (Athens, 2005), 32.

42 A. Struck, *Mistra: Eine mittelalterliche Ruinestadt; Streifblicke zur Geschichte und zu den Denkmälern des fränkisch-byzantinischen Zeitalters in Morea* (Vienna, 1910), 111, fig. 49.

43 Orlandos, "Παλάτια και σπίτια" (above, n. 13), 146.

44 *Ibid.*, 77.



FIG. 4 Mystras mosque, author's photograph

dated to the Ottoman period, but without stratigraphic archaeological evidence or inductive argumentation the possibility remains open. If Orlandos had used a stratigraphic line of reasoning, he would have to have begun with the most recent phases (the evicted modern inhabitants) and moved backward in time through 400 years of Ottoman rule before asserting the primacy of Byzantine life. As Orlandos acknowledges at the beginning of his essay, houses present problems of dynamic change and constant erosion. Half a millennium of inhabitation (1460–1937) must therefore be accounted for before asserting a hypothetical golden age.

Although Orlandos looked at individual buildings with a discerning architectural eye, he did not resurvey the site. His urban analysis, including his numbering system, recycles the topographical map that Henri Eustache, M. Schaffner, and Daimpourtzakís executed for Millet in 1893. Orlandos's documentary contribution was to draw a select number of detailed

elevations, sections, and plans; publish additional photographs; and, more importantly, provide creative reconstructions. The visual documentation gives the monograph a sense of objectivity missing in the interpretation. Orlandos's disregard for archaeological rigor was not an oversight but an intentional choice. Although he phased buildings according to typological principles, he refused to entertain problems of structural chronologies. His argumentation over a wall in Archontikon A best illustrates his reluctance. The façade of Archontikon A contains a vertical line in the upper story that does not continue into the lower story. The masonry of the lower story thus bonds, while the masonry of the upper story does not. Such features are typically taken as evidence for multiple phases. In order to avoid the complexities of relative chronology, Orlandos states that the façade is entirely of a single date, arguing that Byzantine masons intentionally left the masonry of the upper story without bonds.⁴⁵

Orlandos's intentional disregard for stratigraphic layering is particularly striking given the growing application by his peers of objective methodologies to Byzantine archaeology. Recourse to nineteenth-century habits of stylistic dating was not an intellectual inevitability but a methodological choice. Developed by Mortimer Wheeler and a group of Cambridge archaeologists, stratigraphy and archaeological ethics had quickly been adopted by noted Byzantine archaeologists. Orlandos could not have been unaware of these developments; rather, by ignoring stratigraphy, he retained the creative license traditionally enjoyed by the architect/restorer in the tradition of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc.

In 1927, a decade before "The Palaces and Houses of Mystras" appeared in print, the British Academy conducted the first proper stratigraphic excavation of a secular Byzantine structure, the Hippodrome of Constantinople.⁴⁶ Wheeler had developed the excavation methods used at the Hippodrome five years earlier at Segontium (1921–22), a Roman fort with

45 Ibid., 31, fig. 13.

46 British Academy et al., *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927* (London, 1928); W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 64–71.

late antique and medieval phases.⁴⁷ During the same year that the British Academy began its excavations in Istanbul, Wheeler publicized his stratigraphic principles in a lecture at the Royal Society of Arts that offered the new standards of a burgeoning objective discipline. The Hippodrome excavations thus brought Wheeler's methods from the United Kingdom to Constantinople. The project produced the first discussion of "strata," as well as the first serialization of Byzantine pottery.⁴⁸ David Talbot Rice's pioneering ceramic chronology from the Hippodrome was first used in Greece by Frederick O. Waagé in the American excavations at Corinth and Athens.⁴⁹

Stratigraphy was also fundamental in the second landmark of Byzantine archaeology, the excavation by the University of St. Andrews of the Great Palace in Constantinople (1935–38), which resembles Mystras in its imperial residential subject matter. Although we do not know whether Orlandos ever visited the Great Palace excavations, other Greek scholars collaborated in the project. The directors of the Byzantine and Christian Museum and the Benaki Museum, both in Athens, offered expertise based on their ceramic collections.⁵⁰ The Great Palace excavations used Wheeler's grid-box system to maintain horizontal and vertical control. Stratigraphic sections were drawn and formed necessary documents for argumentation.⁵¹ The French excavation of the Mangana Palace (1921–23) in Istanbul was another imperial excavation and illustrates the growing prestige of domestic Byzantium. The Mangana excavations were less innovative in methodology than

the British, American, and German projects, focusing on the structural chronology of the residential complex. Ernest Mamboury identified the building phases in 1934. A monograph was published in 1939 and, unless Orlandos was acquainted with Mamboury, he would have not known of the project details in time for his Mystras project.⁵²

Orlandos did not have to follow British intellectual debates to have faced the challenges of stratigraphy; they would have become familiar to him through his apprenticeship in the German Archaeological Institute. Orlandos's Germanic education did not take place in Germany; in fact, his dissertation was supervised by Chrestos Tsountas in Athens. But he enrolled in seminars by archaeologists in the German Archaeological Institute and excavated with the Austrian Archaeological Institute at the Peloponnesian site of Elis.⁵³ Orlandos's intellectual training belonged to the *Bauforschung* tradition and was under the mentorship of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, with whom he took seminars in 1912–16.⁵⁴ German scholars identified Orlandos as "Dörpfeld's best Greek student in architecture-archaeology."⁵⁵ While excavating Olympia in 1877, Dörpfeld developed a pioneering system of archaeological stratigraphy that he applied in Troy, Pergamon, and Tiryns. If Orlandos was "Dörpfeld's best Greek student," he must have had a thorough understanding of the principles of stratigraphy as specifically applied to building archaeology.

Independently of Wheeler's Cambridge School of archaeological stratigraphy, a German stratigraphic methodology developed in Greece and formed the core of Orlandos's classical training. And as director of restoration of monuments, Orlandos encountered this tradition not only in the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute, but also in the works of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Bert

47 R. E. M. Wheeler, "The Segontium Excavations 1922," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 77 (1922): 258–326. Segontium's Period III was contemporary with the reign of Valens; Segontium's Period IV was medieval (early 9th century).

48 D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford, 1930).

49 F. O. Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 2 (1933): 279–328, and "Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery from Corinth, I: The Prototype of the Archaic Italian Majolica," *Hesperia* 3 (1934): 129–39. For a general history of Byzantine ceramic studies, see J. Vroom, *After Antiquity: Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to 20th Century A.C.: A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece* (Leiden, 2003), 36–40.

50 G. Brett et al., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried Out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews) 1935–1938* (Oxford, 1947), v, vii; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 229–37.

51 Brett, *Great Palace*, 2, Plan 63, pl. 7.1, shows balk with stratigraphy of "crypt with burial levels." Pl. 8.2 shows a square balk.

52 R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manges et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 39–47, pl. VIII; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 136–38.

53 Orlandos took seminars with Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Georg Karo, Rudolf Heberdey, Anton Ritter von Premerstein, and Alfred Brückner; see D. Zakythenos, "Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος ο Πιτυούσιος," in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος* (above, n. 22), 13–34.

54 D. Neumann, "Teaching the History of Architecture in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland: 'Architekturgeschichte' vs. 'Bauforschung,'" *JSAH* 61 (2002): 370–80.

55 F. Studniczka, *AA* (1921): 317.

Hodge Hill, American director of excavations in Corinth, also learned stratigraphy from Dörpfeld.⁵⁶ Inspired by Dörpfeld, “the great master of inductive reasoning in archaeology,” Hill introduced the German Institute’s rigor into the practices of American classical archaeology.⁵⁷ Rhys Carpenter, who took over the directorship of the American School after Hill, initiated one of the most ambitious excavation projects: the clearing of the central area and the careful documentation of Byzantine Corinth (1927–39). As director of restorations, Orlandos would have been fully cognizant of domestic archaeology in Corinth and would have seen the American team deal with Byzantine stratigraphy.⁵⁸ He would also have known of the excavation of Byzantine houses in the Athenian Agora that began in 1932, where Alison Frantz (among others) kept meticulous stratigraphic records of houses contemporary with Mystras.⁵⁹

Orlandos was no stranger to Corinth. One of his earliest projects of aggressive restoration took place in 1915, in constructing a steel frame for the preservation of Glauke Spring.⁶⁰ His 1917 sketchbooks include many drawings of Corinth’s Byzantine monuments; in 1926 he supervised the reconstruction of a Roman stoa. In 1935, Orlandos’s relationship with the Corinthia was formalized further not as director of restorations but as a member of the Archaeological Society,

a private foundation undertaking excavations.⁶¹ The Archaeological Society had begun excavating Sikyon (a few miles west of Corinth) in 1926. Orlandos took over the directorship in 1935–41 and 1951–54.⁶² Finally, working on his study of the houses of Mystras, Orlandos must also have witnessed the stratigraphic rigor applied by the British School to the excavations of nearby Sparta. Ancient Sparta was excavated by Alan Wace and R. M. Dawkins (1906–10; 1924–29). Dawkins’s diachronic interests established him as an authority on Byzantium; he published a book on Mt. Athos the year before Orlandos published “Palaces and Houses of Mystras.”⁶³

Whether in Istanbul, Corinth, Athens, or Sparta, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed an explosion of research on domestic architecture and settlements applying a rigorous stratigraphic methodology. The British tradition of Wheeler, the German tradition of Orlandos’s mentor Dörpfeld, and the American School excavations all demonstrate that the archaeology of Byzantine settlements had advanced well beyond the arbitrary attribution of periods and agencies based on style. The principles and methods of “settlement archaeology” were solidly in place and intentionally ignored by Orlandos.⁶⁴

Colonial Preconstructions

Mystras entered the discourse of Greek nationalism during the first three decades of the twentieth

56 S. L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 84, 87; B. Robinson, *Histories of Peirene: A Corinthian Fountain in Three Millennia* (Princeton, 2011). Orlandos and Hill were friends; see photo at Eleusis with Orlandos, Wace, Tsountas, and Hill, in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος*, 104.

57 R. Carpenter, *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA, 1933), 39.

58 R. L. Scranton, *Corinth XVI: Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton, 1957). K. Kourelis, “Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s–1930s,” *Hesperia* 76 (2007): 391–442, and “Discipline and Rigor: Excavating Byzantine Greece,” talk at “New Discoveries from Old Excavations” conference, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies, Harvard University, 24 March 2007 (publication forthcoming).

59 See for example, A. Frantz, *Agora Note Book H’X* (1936), Athenian Agora Excavations Archive.

60 Ph. Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση των αρχαίων μνημείων στη νεώτερη Ελλάδα (1834–1939): Το έργο της Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας και της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας* (Athens, 1998), 177.

61 M. Gavrilis, “Αναδίφηση στα περιγητικά σημειωματάρια του Αναστάσιου Ορλάνδου,” in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος*, 199. For a history of the Archaeological Society, see Ch. Petrakos, *Τα 170 χρόνια της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 1837–2007* (Athens, 2007).

62 A. Orlandos, “Ανασκαφή Σικυνώνος,” *Πρακτ. Αρχ. Έτ.* (1932): 63–76. Orlandos abandoned all work in Sikyon unexpectedly. According to oral accounts, he was victimized by a homophobic crime at Sikyon and vowed never to return; personal communication, Yannis Lolos. For the last word on Sikyonian research, see Y. Lolos, *Land of Sikyon: The Archaeology and History of a Greek City-State* (Princeton, 2001).

63 Mackridge, “R. M. Dawkins and Byzantium” (above, n. 2).

64 The archaeology of medieval villages flourished in Germany and England; see M. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, eds., *Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies* (New York, 1971); Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology* (above, n. 19), 70–71; “Settlement archaeology” also benefited immensely from American archaeology, namely, Gordon Willey’s pioneering project in Peru; see K. J. Schreiber, “Settlement Archaeology,” in *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*, ed. B. M. Fagan (Oxford, 1996), 635–36.

century. Orlandos's generation repackaged Mystras as a locus of national sacrality based on the notion that the Palaiologan renaissance of the fifteenth century contained the early seeds of a Greek national consciousness. This anachronistic reading of ethnogenesis effectively projected eighteenth-century notions of statehood onto the medieval period.⁶⁵ The aggressive appropriation of Mystras as a Greek national shrine did not emerge in a vacuum but was rather a strategy of decolonization and cultural cleansing. During the nineteenth century, Modern Greece had disregarded its medieval past in order to bolster its neoclassical *raison d'être*. Between the 1821 Greek War of Independence and the 1920s, interest in the medieval Peloponnese had been monopolized by Western Europeans. The modern descendants of the Frankish occupiers of the Morea filled the vacuum that Greek classicism had left. For almost a century before Orlandos, Mystras had been thoroughly dominated by French, German, and British national claims. Like latter-day Palaiologoi, Orlandos's generation had to reconquer Mystras from the academic Franks of Western Europe. In order to understand Orlandos's project, we must understand the colonialist Mystras that Orlandos inherited.

Thanks to its proximity to Sparta, Mystras was visited by antiquarians and travelers as early as 1448.⁶⁶ The scholarly discovery of the city, however, had to wait until some original textual source could testify to its historical significance. As the history of archaeology has shown, early excavation and research was entirely dependent on chasing canonical textual narratives. Archaeologists flocked to Mycenae because of Homer and to Athens because of Plato. Until the methodological revolutions of archaeological science in the 1920s and the processualist critique of the 1960s, archaeology was an antiquarian "handmaiden" to the discipline of textual history.⁶⁷ Classical antiquities dominated the study of Greece, because the texts of classical philosophy, history, and drama dominated the Western intellectual tradition. Lacking explanatory texts, the medieval Peloponnese was immersed in darkness and

neglect. Medieval churches, mosques, castles, and towns entered the Western imagination through the touristic impressions of the early travelers. Unlike classical monuments, medieval sites were free of the weight of academic tradition. They fueled imaginative reveries prescribed by Romantic historicism. Medieval monuments occupied fantasy rather than fact.⁶⁸

Without any textual sources to ground its monuments in a narrative, the medieval Peloponnese was marginal until 1825, when Jean Alexandre Buchon published a medieval chronicle that he discovered in a Belgian library.⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of the Morea* narrates heroic confrontations between Greeks and Latins.⁷⁰ Additional feudal documents that Buchon tracked down in the archives of Barcelona, Naples, Venice, Florence, and Malta illuminated the physical artifacts that he further encountered during his Greek journeys.⁷¹ In effect, Buchon became the first historian of the Frankish Peloponnese and demarcated the new field's methodological boundaries somewhere between philology and the travelogue. Perched on remote hilltops, sites like Mystras conjured up vivid images of medieval heroism equal only to those of antiquity. France had discovered its own Homeric kings. In Buchon's words, "the kings of Homer were, in effect, the grand Frankish barons of the Peloponnese."⁷² Despite the diachronic contradiction, this proposition was widely echoed throughout travel literature. And from there it entered high literature, namely, in the third act of the second book of *Faust*, where an aging Goethe dramatized the wedding between his Faust and Helen in the Frankish castle of Mystras. We know from a prose sketch dated to 1816 that Goethe had originally intended the wedding to take place in Faust's palace on the Rhine. John Schmitt points out that Goethe's decision to move the dramatic location from Germany to Greece occurred in

65 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992).

66 Cyriacus of Ancona, *Diary V.55*; R. E. Bodnar and C. Foss, *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 328.

67 B. G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 1989).

68 K. Kourelis, "Early Travelers in the Peloponnese and the Invention of Medieval Architectural History," in *Architecture and Tourism: Perceptions, Performance, and Space*, ed. D. M. Lasansky and B. McLaren (Oxford, 2004), 37–52.

69 J. A. Buchon, *Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople et de l'établissement des Français en Morée* (Paris, 1825).

70 M. J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version," *BZ* 687 (1975): 304–50; T. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of the Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009).

71 J. A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée: Voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841* (Paris, 1843).

72 *Ibid.*, 474.

1825, the year of Buchon's publication of the *Chronicle*.⁷³ Indeed, the ultimate resolution of Europe's Gothic and Hellenic genius would not have been possible without the visual testament of the Peloponnese.

Beyond its influence in literature, Buchon's scholarship formed the backbone of French topographical studies, which culminated in Jean Longnon's critical edition of *The Chronicle of the Morea* in 1911 and Antoine Bon's topographical fieldwork in the 1920s.⁷⁴ But France did not maintain exclusive monopoly over Frankish scholarship in the Peloponnese. Carl Hopf's publication of feudal lists and genealogies illustrates German philological interests in the 1870s, while Rennell Rodd's and William Miller's magisterial histories show British attention during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷⁵

In the age of Christian archaeology and Romantic historicism, textual sources required physical illustration. European imperialism in the eastern Mediterranean needed, moreover, to build a monumental genealogy of legitimization. Colonial regimes provided the administrative and military personnel to sustain an army of scholars. Following the installation of a Bavarian king of Greece in 1830 and the creation of a European protectorate, France received oversight of the Peloponnese. And as Napoleon Bonaparte had

done with the expedition to Egypt of 1798, King Louis-Philippe I organized a French scientific expedition to the Morea in 1830 under the directorship of architect Abel Blouet.⁷⁶ Blouet's engraving from Mystras makes no secret of the imperialist character of the expedition. In the foreground of the settlement, we see the French military entourage encountering the Greek *palikaria*, also armed, directed by the local priest.⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, the settlement is not a ruin but a thriving village. In the annals of the Greek War of Independence, moreover, Mystras was the site of heroic victory. The exploration of hilltop defenses had obviously a double objective: to record the monuments of history (first priority classical, second priority French medieval) but also to assess their viability in future military confrontation. One of Britain's greatest historical topographers of the Morea, General W. M. Leake, had undertaken a similar visit to Mystras in 1805 to map British topographical interests.⁷⁸ England and France mapped the recesses of mountainous Morea in order to administer the peninsula militarily.

Soon after the Greek War of Independence, Mystras was available as a virgin site for Romantic visualization. Germany, France, and, to a lesser extent England, raced to claim it. Millet began scientific investigations of the architecture in 1893. He became a pioneer of Byzantine architectural studies and author of the first comprehensive study of Greek churches. Coming to Greece in 1893, he embarked on the exploration of Mystras under the auspices of the French School in Athens. This was the first time that the French School, previously devoted to the study of antiquity, invested in medieval research. Millet's work was intended to glorify the French Middle Ages and show the role that France played in enlightening a backward Byzantine Greece. The French School's official history of 1901 does not

73 J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of the Morea, To Χρονικόν του Μωρέως: A History in Political Verse, Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1904), lviii–lxvi; G. Moravcsik, "Zur Quellenfrage der Helenaepisode in Goethes Faust," *BNJ* 8 (1929–1930): 41–56; R. Hauschild, *Mistra, die Faustburg Goethes: Erinnerungen an eine Griechenlandfahrt* (Berlin, 1963); J. Irmscher, "Ο Γκαίτε σπουδάζει την γεωγραφίαν του Μωρέως," in *Travellers and Officials in the Peloponnese: Descriptions—Reporters—Statistics. 4th Symposium of History and Art 26–28 July 1991 in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. H. Kalligas (Monemvasia, 1994), 291–96.

74 J. Longnon, ed., *Chronique de Morée (1204–1305): Livre de la conquête* (Paris, 1911); A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1969).

75 C. H. F. J. Hopf, *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten* (Vienna, 1859), and *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues, pub. avec notes et tables généalogique* (Berlin, 1873); R. Rodd, *The Princess of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea: A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages* (London, 1907); W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (New York, 1908). Rodd's relationship to Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Movement in England suggests avenues of further exploration between aesthetics and the scholarship of the Greek Middle Ages.

76 A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1831–38); L. Droulia, "Reflets et repercussions de l'Expédition française en Grèce," in *Enquêtes en Méditerranée: Les expéditions française d'Égypte, de Morée et d'Algérie; Actes de colloque Athènes-Nauplie, 8–10 juin 1995*, ed. M.-N. Bourguet, D. Nordman, V. Panayotopoulos, and M. Sinarellis (Athens, 1999), 45–55. For a general history of the relationship between French artists and the medieval topography of the Peloponnese, see C. Peltre, *Retour en Arcadie: Les voyages des artistes français en Grèce au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), 141–50, 161–74, 187–98, 289–317.

77 Blouet, *Expédition*, 2:58–59.

78 W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830).

disguise the nationalist agenda: “The four campaigns of Gabriel Millet in Mystras, on the glorious fortress of Villehardouin, promises us a book which interests our curiosity no less than our patriotism.”⁷⁹ The campaigns produced two pioneering publications on the inscriptions and architecture of Mystras.⁸⁰ Millet’s ideological agenda is more evident in his monumental *The Greek School of Byzantine Architecture*.⁸¹ His central argument in positing a Greek School was to facilitate the transmission of Eastern mysticism (evident in the architecture of Armenia) to French soil in order to explain the emergence of French Romanesque.⁸² The Francocentric ambitions in the premier study of Greek Byzantine architecture appeared in the year that Orlandos completed his architectural studies. A contemporary study by Struck served an equally national claim for German scholarship.⁸³ Young scholars like Orlandos were intrigued by the unprecedented attention that Europeans were giving to Byzantine monuments in the period 1890–1920 but could not have missed the geopolitical subtexts of this interest. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Peloponnese in the early nineteenth century generated the French expedition and General Leake’s survey. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire in northern Greece in the early twentieth century brought a new generation of colonial scholarship.

National Reconquest

The modern Greek nation-state had been constructed on the columns of classical Greece. Everything subsequent was rejected as degenerate. Byzantine churches and all medieval monuments were ignored, and their preservation was highly threatened. In the urban design of the new Athenian capital alone, hundreds of medieval monuments were demolished after 1830.⁸⁴ In the

1860s, however, Greece experienced a radical paradigm shift in articulating its historical past. Konstantinos Papanregopoulos’s new history of the Greek nation rehabilitated the Greek Middle Ages as a legitimate purveyor of Greekness.⁸⁵ Greece discovered a medieval patrimony that allowed a new inclusive national identity. Consequently, a Society of Christian Archaeology was formed in 1884, publishing the first issue of its journal in 1891. And under the government of Eleutherios Venizelos, Byzantine material culture became for the first time a legitimate field of academic study. In 1911, eighty years after its foundation, the University of Athens established its first position of Byzantine art and archaeology held by Adamantios Adamantou.⁸⁶

In the 1910s, Greek intellectuals discovered that their neglect of medieval monuments had already been compensated for by European historiography. The sites of Mystras and Daphni (with an important Cistercian phase) had been appropriated by imperialist narratives. The Frankish period of Greece had to be reclaimed as a period of heroic resistance, and Mystras became the fulcrum of the Byzantine reconquest. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed a flurry of topographical investigation of the Frankish Peloponnese. When the Latin state of the Peloponnese was founded, it was organized around twelve baronies. Greek historians had to deal with the fact that the original baronies of the Crusaders had not been securely identified. Equally embarrassing was the realization that the location of Araklovon, where the Greeks resisted the Frankish conquest most valiantly, had been forgotten. A flurry of topographical studies and critical publications proposed eight competing identifications for Araklovon.⁸⁷ When archaeology could not provide the proof, art was deployed to fill in the missing parts. In 1937, the painter Photis Kontoglou was commissioned to decorate Athens City Hall with a historical mural commemorating the great ages of Hellenic history. Central to the mural is an imaginative

79 G. A. Radet, *L’histoire et l’œuvre de l’École Française d’Athènes* (Paris, 1901), 292.

80 G. Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra,” *BCH* 23 (1899): 97–156; Millet et al. (above, n. 37).

81 G. Millet, *L’École grecque dans l’architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916).

82 Kourelis, “The Greek School of Byzantine Architecture” (above, n. 1).

83 Struck, *Mistra* (above, n. 42).

84 E. Bastea, *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (Cambridge, 2000); I. Travlos, *Πολυεοδομική εξέλιξ των Αθηνών*, 2nd

ed. (Athens, 1993).

85 P. Demetrakopoulos, *Βυζάντιο και νεοελληνική διανόηση στα μέσα του δεκάτου ενάτου αιώνας* (Athens, 1996).

86 V. Karamanolakis, “University of Athens and Archaeological Studies: The Contribution of Archaeology to the Creation of a National Past (1912–1932),” in *Singular Antiquity* (above, n. 4), 191–92.

87 I. Sarris, “Τα ‘κάστρα των Σκορτών’ Αράκλοβον και Άγιος Γεώργιος,” *Αρχ.Εφ.* (1934–35): 57–84; S. N. Dragoumis, *Χρονικών Μορέως: Τοπωνυμικά—τοπογραφικά—ιστορικά* (Athens, 1921).

representation of Araklovon, replete with its superhuman defender Doxapatris Voutsaras fighting Frankish knights. A direct quotation from *The Chronicle of the Morea* provides a caption to the battle scene.⁸⁸

The recovery of the Peloponnese from imperialist historiography made it possible for the frescoes of Mystras to be regarded as predecessors of the Italian Renaissance. It also required the domestication of the urban fabric in the direction of the image of revived Hellenism. Before becoming the first professor of Byzantine art and archaeology at the University of Athens, Adamantiou reflects on Mystras during 1908: "Upon these heights, the Franks came to build their castle, and then the magistrates of Byzantium came to attempt the renaissance of the Greek world. Along the slopes of the mountain, at the feet of the castle, the extensive ruins reveal a new Hellas full of life and dew."⁸⁹ In another article entitled "The Greek Renaissance," Adamantiou writes, "Here, on the mountains of Taygetos and Parnon, the Palaiologoi erected the last supports for the supreme defense. Not only defense, but also the supreme attempts for a national renaissance."⁹⁰ With this article, Adamantiou publicized the Archaeological Service's new campaigns in preserving and restoring the monuments of Mystras. Through the 1910s and 1920s, Mystras became the destination not only for archaeologists and restorers, but also the fountainhead for Greek modernism. Paul Kalligas's painting *Mystras* (1934) documents the imaginative vitality of the site with postimpressionist colors.⁹¹ Artists and architects like Zachos, Kontoglou, or Kalligas entered into a mystical apprenticeship with the newly established archaeological site. Mystras became a space for a neobyzantine modernity and the laboratory for inventing modern Greek art and architecture.⁹²

88 N. Zias, *Φώτης Κόντογλου ζωγράφος* (Athens, 1991), 98.

89 A. Adamantiou, "Εἰς τὰ ερείπια τοῦ Μυστρά," *Παναθήναια* 17 (Oct. 1908–Mar. 1909): 134–35.

90 A. Adamantiou, "Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ ἀναγέννησις: Μυστράς-Γεράκι," *Παναθήναια* 16 (Apr.–Sept. 1908): 9.

91 The painting is currently in view at the National Gallery; see M. Lambraki-Plaka, *National Gallery 100 Years: Four Centuries of Greek Painting* (Athens, 2001), 231, 410, fig. 231.

92 Drawings by Aristotelis Zachos illustrated Adamantiou's publications in 1908. Zachos's studies of Mystras provided prototypes for the design of his own churches and houses, as well as his restoration of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike; see H. Fessas-Emmanouil and E. V. Marmaras, *Twelve Greek Architects of the Interwar Period* (Athens,

Dragoumis's theories of Byzantine modernity materialized in the artistic productions of the generation of the 1930s.

Orlandos arrived at Mystras amidst this highly creative context. For an architect and restorer, the houses of Mystras served a double purpose: to reinstate the genius of Byzantine architecture in the increasingly prestigious domain of domestic buildings and to connect this ingenuity with Greek vernacular architecture. Orlandos's work emerges after Greece's greatest geopolitical conflict, the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Asia Minor catastrophe. The Balkan Wars found Orlandos enlisted as a soldier. He fought in the battles of Elassona, Sarantoporos, and Gianitsa and marched from Volos to Thessalonike. During the Greek conquest of Thessalonike, Orlandos was a member of the liberation army. A photograph from 26 October 1912 shows him in the honorary position of flag bearer for the Seventh Brigade, victoriously marching into the Macedonian capital.⁹³ In Thessalonike, Orlandos learned the intimate connection between military conquest and archaeology, when only two weeks after his victorious adventus, the Greek government began excavating the Hellenistic city in order to prove Macedonia's Greekness.⁹⁴ Between October 1915 and February 1916, Orlandos served as an officer in Macedonia's Corps of Engineers.

After his formative years in the trenches of national service, Orlandos entered the state bureaucracy and was ingrained in the official dogma of nationalist policies. Mystras entered the political priorities of right-wing governments, culminating in the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–40). A central component of Fascist policy had been the inscription of new meanings on the urban fabric, a strategy perfected by Benito Mussolini at the Roman Forum and the Coliseum in 1920–39.⁹⁵ During the Metaxas dictator-

2005), 3–45. Kontoglou joined Adamantiou's expeditions in Mystras in 1931. Kontoglou's own visual vocabulary was specifically inspired by the frescoes of the Peribleptos; see Zias, *Φώτης Κόντογλου*, 52, 156.

93 D. Zakythenos, "Ἀναστάσιος Ορλάνδος ὁ Πιτυοῦσιος," in *Ἀναστάσιος Ορλάνδος* (above, n. 22), 34, fig. 6.

94 Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts* (above, n. 56), 186; J. L. Davis, "A Foreign School of Archaeology and the Politics of Archaeological Practice: Anatolia, 1922," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 16 (2000): 77, 79–82.

95 A. Guidi, "Nationalism Without a Nation: The Italian Case," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. M. Díaz-Andreu and

ship, Orlandos faithfully served the propaganda agenda of the regime and retained his bureaucratic post under the Nazi occupation of Greece, when leftist archaeologists were sent to concentration camps.⁹⁶ As director of restoration of monuments, Orlandos transcribed the Parthenon's medieval graffiti while the Nazi flag waved over the Acropolis.⁹⁷ Although he was not a right-wing extremist like some of his colleagues, Orlandos was certainly positioned on the political right, valorizing nation, church, and Byzantium.⁹⁸ Publicity photos of Orlandos guiding George II, king of the Hellenes, on a victory tour through the houses of Mystras in 1946 turned both the houses of Mystras and their curator into national symbols.⁹⁹

Literary Fantasy before Monumental Fantasy

Although colonialist and nationalist discourses actively engaged with Mystras, the site also reflects the culmination of another tradition, with its roots in literature. As Peter Mackridge has argued, an emphasis on space is one of the most striking features of Greek fiction in the late nineteenth century. Such a "subordination of time (character in action) to place (setting)" generated a strategy of inscribing history on experiential space.¹⁰⁰ While the Middle Ages were archaeologically subservient, medieval spaces were shaped by literature without the impediments of academic scrutiny. A marginal Gothic aesthetic, then, subverted state-sponsored archaeology and positivist academicism. The texts and

monuments of the "Phrangokratia" generated fantastic spaces that liberated the Greek imagination from the dryness of marble temples. The inclusion of Mystras in the purview of state archaeology in the 1930s was thus accompanied by the legitimization of a much older literary space drafted by prose from the 1850s.

By suppressing its medieval history through most of the nineteenth century, Greece also curtailed an important vehicle of Romantic sentiment that Europe articulated in the Gothic Revival. A Gothic sensibility, however, trickled into Greek artistic circles and challenged neoclassical monopoly. As a Crusader state, the medieval Peloponnese offered a rich tapestry of multicultural characters and gallant possibilities. The Peloponnese, moreover, could tolerate ethnic ambiguity because it belonged to the secure "old Greece" of 1821.¹⁰¹ The newly acquired territories of Thessaly, Epiros, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor were tainted by recent bloodshed. Both politically and militarily, the Morea formed an imaginary comfort zone, a safe place that could project fantasy without territorial trauma. The enduring, and arguably flourishing, Western occupation of the Peloponnese in the Middle Ages inspired Greece's modern engagement with a global order. The Greek "National Schism" of the 1910–30s was a choice between two sets of European partners; neutrality was not an option. The Royalist supporters of King Constantine were aligned with the pro-German Central Powers, while the Republican supporters of Venizelos were aligned with the pro-French Allies. For both factions, the Western European experience of the medieval Morea offered solace, anger, or critical reflection.

The medieval Morea introduced a breath of fantasy, romance, and love into the cumulative burden of the classical tradition. A new "ambivalence" toward classical antiquity in the late nineteenth century sought vehicles by which to escape the subservience to classical academicism.¹⁰² Frankish monuments reinforced this ambivalence and encouraged a highly gendered

T. Champion (Boulder, 1996), 108–18; D. Manacorda, *Il piccone del regime* (Rome, 1985).

96 V. Ch. Petrakos, *Τα αρχαία της Ελλάδος κατά τον πόλεμο 1940–1944* (Athens, 1994), 129.

97 A. K. Orlandos and L. I. Vranousis, *Τα χαράγματα του Παρθενώνος: Ήτοι επιγραφαί χαραχθείσαι επί των κιόνων του Παρθενώνος κατά τους παλαιοχριστιανικούς και βυζαντινούς χρόνους* (Athens, 1973).

98 D. Kokkinidou and M. Nikolaidou, "On the Stage and Behind the Scenes: Greek Archaeology in Times of Dictatorship," in *Archaeology under Dictatorship*, ed. M. L. Galaty and C. Watkinson (New York, 2004), 155–90.

99 In *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος* (above, n. 22), 45, fig. 5, 556, fig. 194. The image of the king overseeing archaeological excavation became an important media trope. During the excavations of the Roman Forum, Mussolini participated in the excavations by turning the first sod; image reprinted in Guidi, "Nationalism," 114, fig. 6.1.

100 P. Mackridge, "The Textualisation of Place in Greek Fiction, 1883–1903," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 2 (1992): 148–68.

101 *Palaia Ellada* referred to the Peloponnese and south central Greece, the territories belonging to the early state.

102 P. M. Kitromilidis, "From Subservience to Ambivalence: Modern Greek Attitudes toward the Classics," in *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities: Proceedings of an International Colloquium Held at the Netherlands Institute at Athens, 2–4 October 2000*, ed. M. Haagsma, P. den Boer, and E. M. Moormann (Amsterdam, 2003), 47–54.

and Christian relationship with the past that Plato and Aristotle could never facilitate. Modern Greek literature shows that the public imagination was saturated with images of Franks and Byzantines narrated in elaborately imagined spaces with streets, houses, bedrooms, staircases, windows, and hanging carpets. All these features were based on European literary models, but they populated the Greek imagination before any real monuments could ground this experience in facts.

Greek writers had constructed a conceptual medieval home before archaeologists could give the medieval house any physical materiality. This is evident in Orlandos's illustrations in "The Palaces and Houses of Mystras" that take narrative liberties in the scenic reconstructions. Orlandos's house perspectives are filled with Byzantine characters in historical costume, playing specified literary roles. Chaste princesses wait by the window, while gallant knights gallop up the winding streets. The caricatures that populate Orlandos's drawings are fictional characters translated from the written word to the artistic pen. A reconstructed visual reality brought to light a set of characters that had been waiting in popular literature for half a century.

European literature embraced Mystras first through Goethe's *Faust*. Immersed in neoclassicism, Greeks showed little interest in embracing a literary Gothic. This lost opportunity was recognized by none other than Goethe's Greek translator Alexander Rizos Rangavis. Greek audiences' first encounter with the Franks was mediated by Rangavis's *The Lord of the Morea*. This historical novel was modeled on Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Rangavis's wife had been the daughter of Scott's close friend, the antiquarian James Skene. *The Lord of the Morea* was published in 1850, taking elements of plot from *The Chronicle of the Morea*, published by Buchon in 1825.¹⁰³ Despite its close connections with European literature, Greek Romanticism showed a disregard for anything nonclassical. Rangavis's novel was the noteworthy exception. Writing about poetry in the 1850s and 1860s, Roderick Beaton notes, "Paradoxically, in a Greek context 'neo-

classicism' should be understood as the local manifestation of the Romantic impulse which in other parts of Europe gave rise to the gothic revival."¹⁰⁴ For the rest of Europe the Gothic novel was materially connected with the Gothic Revival in architecture. Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, for example, went hand in hand with his house Strawberry Hill, just as Viollet-le-Duc's restorations in Paris went hand in hand with Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame*.¹⁰⁵ Faust's wedding ceremony at Mystras, after all, fulfilled Goethe's dream to marry the neoclassical genius and the Gothic, which he understood to be the major impulses of European culture.

Greece offers an interesting literary case study. Very much like the rest of Europe, Greece developed a thriving vernacular literature between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, which organically developed into early modern romances. The nation-state, however, aggressively suppressed this vernacular tradition. Like modern Ireland's "government Irish" (actually simplified rather than purified and not seeking to revive Old Irish) and revived Hebrew in Israel, Greece fabricated an artificial purist language (*katharevousa*) to affirm direct genealogies with ancient Greek. As a result, Greece severed all organic continuity with medieval literature in 1830.¹⁰⁶ The linguistic tensions between *katharevousa* and demotic vernacular dominated Greek politics through the twentieth century. Two distinct generations of Greek intellectuals, "The Generation of the 1880s" and "The Generation of the 1930s," made the rediscovery of this medieval vernacular a central polemical preoccupation.¹⁰⁷ Orlandos was one of the architectural components for this rediscovery.

Demotic medieval literature (like the Greek version of *The Chronicle of the Morea*) had to be translated into a modern Greek *katharevousa*. This enterprise of rediscovery could not bypass European models. Rangavis's Peloponnesian novel owes as much to Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* as it does to the medieval

103 A. R. Rangavis, *Ο αυθέντης του Μορέως* (Athens, 1850–51); official edition in *Άπαντα τα φιλολογικά Αλέξανδρου Ρίζου του Παγκαβή*, vol. 8 (Athens, 1876; repr. Athens, 1989); A. Sachinis, *Παλαιότεροι πεζογράφοι: Α. Ρ. Παγκαβής, Δ. Βικέλας, Γ. Βιζυηνός, Κ. Παλαμάς, Γ. Βλαχογιάννης*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1982), 42–47; R. Beaton, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1999), 10, 58.

104 Beaton, *Modern Greek Literature*, 48.

105 A. Chalcraft and J. Viscardi, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle* (London, 2007).

106 R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd ed. (London, 1996), 226–27.

107 For an introduction to Greece's literary modernity, see G. Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Identity* (Minneapolis, 1991).

Chronicle of the Morea.¹⁰⁸ The narrative similarities between Rangavis and Scott are obvious, as are the nationalist agendas of both authors.¹⁰⁹ From the perspective of medieval material culture, *The Lord of the Morea* illustrates two intersecting strategies: the textured materialization of daily medieval life and the authorial interjection of a new archaeological science. In what might today be considered a rather postmodern tactic, Rangavis momentarily interrupts the narrator's voice and enters the text as author. His motivation for this abrupt interlude is to advocate an archaeology of medieval monuments. In terms of plot, the novel is interrupted at a dramatically charged jousting competition taking place in Andravida. Following Scott, Rangavis sets the visual stage by describing the knights' elaborate armor, horses, and heraldry. After describing Geoffrey of Villehardouin's armor and accessories, Rangavis jerks the reader out of the thirteenth century and into the present. He declares that, as the author, he feels compelled to interrupt his visual description of dress because it has little bearing on the plot. Instead, he will forge a paramount connection between medieval tales and the monuments available for the reader's inspection during a mountain hike. Romantic literary history, Rangavis clearly understood, must be matched with archaeological inquiry:

Hiking through mountains, the wanderer may discover fortresses perched on peaks like eagles' nests; or he may find blocks inscribed with heraldic symbols buried among the bushes. The wanderer might ignore these monuments altogether, as he rushes his attention towards the Cyclopean masonry of glorious ancient Greece and its eternal monuments.¹¹⁰

Rangavis breaks the heroic narrative in order to cultivate in his reader the need to pay attention to the medieval monuments that he or she might have ignored. Rangavis, who was professor of archaeology at the University of Athens, makes his reader acutely aware of archaeology's internal epistemological questions.¹¹¹

108 Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (London, 1919); S. Denisi, *To ελληνικό ιστορικό μυθιστόρημα και ο Sir Walter Scott (1830–1880)* (Athens, 1994).

109 I. Duncan, "Introduction," Scott, *Ivanhoe*, i–xxvi.

110 Rangavis, *Μορέως*, 56–57.

111 Rangavis, *Άπαντα*, vol. 11.

Under what conditions does one recognize historical agency in the countryside? How does one discover the material evidence of a historical period? How do archaeological monuments of secondary national importance compete for attention? How does our reading of literary texts affect the visibility of archaeological monuments?

Rangavis's archaeological interlude is culturally significant as the first attempt to articulate the sensibilities of the Gothic Revival through an equation between medieval romances and the experience of a monumental landscape. Rangavis's passage, however, predates Orlandos by a century and lacks the nationalist fervor that this nascent tradition eventually produced. Although clearly supportive of the creation of new Greece, Rangavis's nationalism is not so easy to detect in the novel. Scholars have noted, for example, that he does not take a pro-Greek position and at times seems anti-Greek. Rangavis's marriage to the Scottish Caroline Skene in 1839 had placed the author in an ambiguous national category. His marriage to a non-Greek disqualified him from a prominent position in the civil service, such as minister of education. Academic positions in archaeology, on the other hand, were open to foreigners, since the Greek university was already dominated by German classicists. Hence, in contrast to Orlandos, Rangavis's archaeological career was a demotion from civic life based on a perceived national betrayal through marriage. Unlike Orlandos, Rangavis was a prenationalist creature. Born in Istanbul, trained in Austria, married to a Scot, and serving as ambassador to the United States in 1867, his worldview was global.¹¹²

One generation later, the Great Idea of Hellas (Μεγάλη Ιδέα) was a geopolitical fantasy crafted by the pen before tested by the sword. Medieval Byzantium gave imaginary texture to a new national consciousness, the political realization of which encountered "The Great Catastrophe" in the Greek-Turkish war of 1922. Medieval literature needed to take sides. Without the willing assistance of classical archaeology, the Middle Ages were formed through a creative overlap between the rugged Greek landscape and its historical heroes.

112 Rangavis was born in Istanbul but studied in Austria. At the age of sixteen, he became a student of Ludwig of Bavaria's military academy in Munich (1825). He arrived in Greece in 1830 with the Bavarian court as professor at the military academy in Nauplion.

A neobyzantine revival was expressed by many literary voices from the Generation of the 1880s, congregating around the journal *Estia*. Kostis Palamas's "The Dodecalogue" and "The Emperor's Reed Pipe," written in about 1904, offer early epic expressions.¹¹³ The former describes gypsies in Thrace during the last century of the Byzantine Empire, while the latter narrates the mythical discovery of the grave of Emperor Basil II, "the Bulgar-Slayer," before the 1261 reconquest of Constantinople. Basil II's corpse is found with a shepherd's pipe in its mouth, which narrates the dead emperor's greatness, and particularly his pilgrimage to Athens. In Cantos IV–VI, the dead emperor's army progresses through the Greek countryside and encounters the fictive domestic monuments:

From all Morea's larger sites, and from
Domains and castles which upon their cliffs
Seem deeply rooted and impregnable.

And others from those jutting hills that stand
Like nature's donjons, or the many forts
That are the keys of the whole countryside
With its deep gorges and its mountain passes,
Its forests and its villages and towns.¹¹⁴

As in the case of Rangavis, rural monuments and rugged natural impressions awaken the muse of historical memory. But unlike Rangavis's forced narrative caesura, Palamas's inhabited landscape matches the form of the poem that binds together Greece's three literary ages, "the ancient world (epic), Byzantium (meter, style), and modern oral tradition (language)."¹¹⁵

Only one year after the publication of "The Emperor's Reed Pipe," Basil II surfaced as the hero of another literary manifestation, a book targeted as children's literature. Penelope Delta, the daughter of the Egyptian financier Emanuel Benakis, began her literary career in 1911 with the children's novel *In the Time*

of the Bulgar-Slayer.¹¹⁶ Delta covers the same ground as Palamas but the ideological simplicity of her young adult audience becomes transparent. In an introductory note, Delta reveals the scholarly source of her historical narrative namely, Gustave Schlumberger's *The Byzantine Epic in the Late Tenth Century*, the second volume of which was subtitled *Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer*.¹¹⁷ Children, however, were not the exclusive audience of Delta's novel. Schlumberger's book was illustrated by photographs taken by the architectural historian Millet, whose monograph on Mystras was published the same year as Delta's novel. Millet and Delta had become friends, and Delta had sent him a copy of *In the Time of the Bulgar-Slayer*. In a letter of 26 February 1912, Millet thanks Delta for her book and praises it as a great work of literature. Moreover, he writes that he was so overwhelmed by its content that he was forced to stop working on his own manuscript, *The Greek School of Byzantine Architecture*.¹¹⁸ Millet's letter was written in apologetic modern Greek, and he suggests that the simplicity of Delta's language appealed to him as a model. In a circuitous fashion, the medievalizing dreams of modern Greek literature directly affected the annals of architectural scholarship.

Palamas's and Delta's heroic Byzantium became even more aestheticized by the pen of Nobel prize finalist Angelos Sikelianos, best known for his revival of the ancient Delphic festivals. Sikelianos reshapes the new medieval tradition into a highly erotic experience of Mystras in his poem "From Plethon's Prologue." As the winter snow of Mount Taygetos melts, the poet sees two white horses carrying Helen, who is the Helen of *Faust*. Helen flows down the mountain like water, while the monasteries of Mystras rhythmically pound their wooden *symandra*. The physical spaces of Mystras, "the arched windows," "the slender columns," and "the light arches" become a garden from which the poet can taste eroticized fruits: pomegranates, cherries, almonds, and apples. But fruits here are not a metaphor for youth and suppleness. The poet wants only the fruit

113 R. A. Fletcher, *Kostas Palamas: A Great Modern Greek Poet* (Athens, 1984), 165–84.

114 K. Palamas, "Η φλογέρα του βασιλιά," in *Άπαντα*, 3rd ed. (Athens, 1972), 4:60–61; English translation, *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*, trans. T. P. Stephanidis and G. C. Katsimbalis (Athens, 1982), 130–33.

115 Beaton, *Modern Greek Literature*, 91.

116 P. Delta, *Τον καιρόν του Βουλγαροκτόνου* (Athens, 1911); M. Loukaki, *Ο Βασίλειος ο Βουλγαροκτόνος και η Πηνελόπη Δέλτα* (Athens, 1996); Beaton, *Modern Greek Literature*, 104.

117 G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris, 1896–1905).

118 X. Leukoparidis, *Lettres de deux amis: Une correspondance entre Pénélope S. Delta et Gustave Schlumberger suivie de quelques lettres de Gabriel Millet* (Athens, 1962), 172–73.

already pierced by the birds and on the verge of falling to the ground. Like history, mature fruits can heighten sensory experience.¹¹⁹ Like Rangavis's archaeological interlude, birds become vehicles of archaeological discovery. In Sikelianos's poem "The Virgin of Sparta," the hill of Mystras becomes the enclosure for a sacred idol made of cypress wood exuding scent. The imagery evokes a Byzantine icon quite different from the bronze or marble idols of ancient Sparta. But it also evokes the wooden *xoanon* of the Archaic period, as well as the sensory overload of the architectural setting of Mystras. Sikelianos writes about the site's arched openings and colorful dark crystals. The architecture of Mystras displaces the architecture of ancient Sparta. Sikelianos animates the physical Mystras as a vehicle for sensorial awakenings.¹²⁰

The medievalizing literary imagination culminated in 1937 with Angelos Terzakis's *Princess Ysabeau*. The novel takes place in the Frankish Morea and centers on the dramatic love of Latin princess Ysabeau and the Greek Nikephoros Sgouros. First serialized in the newspaper *Kathimerini*, the novel was reworked substantially during World War II and republished in 1946. The second version exaggerates further the interaction between two civilizations: the struggles between a mature but dying Latin West and an immature but growing Greece.¹²¹ In *Princess Ysabeau*, Terzakis surpasses Rangavis, Palamas, Delta, and Sikelianos in the meticulous attention to graphic detail. The reader hears the sounds of feet walking on the stone pavement and feels the texture of clothes. The factual particulars turn the act of reading into a linear passage through streets, houses, and interior rooms. In Terzakis's novel, we also witness a new juxtaposition between literary and visual realms through the inclusion of drawings.¹²² *Princess Ysabeau* was published the same year as Orlandos's "Palaces and Houses of Mystras." Both incorporate fantastical images that articulate space. Terzakis's

space is fictional but based on historical reality, while Orlandos's space is real but based on fictional history.

Terzakis's dramatization of medieval Byzantium was not limited to *Princess Ysabeau* or his unpublished manuscript "Heroes of the Middle Ages" of 1921.¹²³ Terzakis also composed a Byzantine play based on the life of Emperor Michael IV that was performed at the National Theater in Athens in 1936.¹²⁴ A second installment of Terzakis's medieval trilogy came in 1939 with the play "The Cross and the Sword," also performed by the National Theater.¹²⁵ Terzakis's third and ultimate dramatic manifestation, "The Legend of Mystras," made Mystras its very subject. Unlike the two earlier plays that debuted in Athens, "The Legend of Mystras" was staged within the "holy hill," in the archaeological ruins of the palaces.¹²⁶ Although staged in 1950, a good decade after our period of study, the employment of the houses of Mystras as a theatrical stage manifests the ultimate embodiment of a 1930s dream. And in 1951, *Dead City*, the first Greek neorealist film, also utilized Mystras as its stage set.¹²⁷ Orlandos's houses of Mystras are the siblings of Terzakis's *Princess Ysabeau* and ultimately become the reconstructed stage set of an archaeological play in many acts. Terzakis completes the fictionalization of the medieval Morea began by Rangavis a century earlier. Not surprisingly, Terzakis gave Rangavis high literary praise during the twentieth century, when all other writers had denounced the work of Rangavis as Western European mimicry.¹²⁸

123 A. Terzakis, *Οι Ηρωες του Μεσαίωνα* (Athens, 1921), Angelos Terzakis Archive, Folder 9.3, Gennadeios Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The manuscript contains illustrations by the author.

124 The play was performed again in 2004 by the National Theater of Northern Greece, see <http://www.ntng.gr/Default.aspx?lang=en-GB&page=2&production=5915>, accessed 1 December 2011.

125 "Αυτοκράτωρ Μιχαήλ" and "Ο σταυρός και το σπαθί"; see "Χρονογραφία Ἀγγέλου Τερζάκη," in *Προσφορά στον Ἀγγέλο Τερζάκη για τα εβδομήντα χρόνια του* (Athens, 1977), 101–2. Both plays had an illustrious cast, including Alexis Minotis, Katina Paxinou, and Demetris Myrat.

126 A. Solomos, "Για τον Τερζάκη," in *Προσφορά στον Ἀγγέλο Τερζάκη για τα εβδομήντα χρόνια του*, 27. The one-act play was staged by a chorus from the Drama School and the Lyceum Club of Greek Women.

127 Ph. Eliadis, *Νεκρή Πολιτεία* (1951). The film received international recognition in the 1951 Cannes Film Festival.

128 A. Terzakis, "Το νεοελληνικό μυθιστόρημα," *Ιδέα* 1 (1933): 250–51.

119 A. Sikelianos, "Από τον πρόλογο του 'Πλήθωνα,'" in *Λυρικός βίος*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1965), 2:143–44.

120 "Η Παναγία της Σπάρτης," in *ibid.*, 2:82. English translation, *Angelos Sikelianos: Selected Poems*, trans. E. Keeley and P. Sherrard (Princeton, 1979), 13.

121 N. Politis, *A History of Modern Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1973), 257.

122 A. Terzakis, "Πριγκηπέσσα Ιζαμπώ," *Η Καθημερινή* (Athens, 1937–38), American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadeios Library, Angelos Terzakis Archive, Folder 11.2.

An important element in Rangavis, Terzakis, and many of the neobyzantine medievalists is the gendered role that the medieval Morea plays. Mystras is not simply a site of national veneration and historical aestheticism. It is also the locus of a sexual unity between opposites. Mystras offers a union between Greeks and Latins in the guise of a sexual conflict between male and female. Unlike the homoeroticism of ancient Greece, the medieval Morea offered grounds for heterosexual poetics. Terzakis takes endless pleasures in stereotyping European female coldness in contrast to passionate sensual Greekness. In a 1920 poem entitled "The Frankish Lady," Kostas Ouranis reveals some of the poetic and cultural ramifications of the Crusader period in the modern Greek psyche.¹²⁹ Instead of nationalism, we find compassion. The female overlord is equated with the itinerant poet. The Latin lady discovers loneliness in Athens, the same way that the expatriate poet discovers loneliness in Paris. Material culture enters the poem, as the Frankish lady's tombstone is found isolated in the Greek landscape. The literary character of the Western European girlfriend becomes prevalent in Greek literature. Her various manifestations illustrate interpretive complexities at the moment that gender, desire, emotion, and sexuality enter in the relationship between Greek and non-Greek of the past as mirrors of the Greek and non-Greek relationships of the present. Unlike the segregated religious spaces of churches and monasteries, houses provide a natural place for procreation, family, and sexual gratification. Orlandos's visual reconstructions at Mystras offer a possible union between genders and ethnicities. The ladies waiting in balconies and the gallant knights riding the cobbled streets give pictorial credibility to a literary fantasy.

Experiencing Byzantium

Orlandos's publication of the houses of Mystras comes at a critical juncture, when the literary imagination of an ethnically complex Greek Middle Ages needed to be physically represented. By the 1950 production of Terzakis's play, Mystras had become a virtual stage set. We must remember that Orlandos wants his reader to experience Mystras as "a complete Byzantine city,

lacking only its inhabitants."¹³⁰ To understand the primacy of this need, to connect ruins with experiential drama, we must follow the interface between texts and literature and the physical dwelling in space. One such crossing of boundaries occurs in a published travel narrative from 1928. Kontoglou, the founder of a modern style in painting and a leading proponent of neobyzantinism, urges his reader to leave the comfort of his reading chamber and inhabit the medieval city.

Huge walls with large windows, rusted and decayed, deteriorate day by day. Every once in a while a piece of the wall collapses and falls to the earth. The masonry returns to its mother, indistinguishable from all the other stones of the mountain. Where the houses contained wood, the wood rotted, leaving behind empty holes. The people that ruled deteriorated first, then followed their clothes, then the wood and the stones that scattered about. Everyone got to rest. Roofs and floors collapsed quickly and only four walls remained, but even the walls disintegrated. . . . A crow flies and rests on the top of a column, but just as the crow flaps his wings, more stones collapse and roll down the hill, making a hollow noise as if the earth had swallowed its stones. . . . But why am I writing these fantasies, when you can go to Mystras and experience these for yourself? Your heart will certainly cry once you see the chimneys still standing, the hearths where food was cooked, the baths where princesses washed, the stone from which the emperor mounted his horse, the spot where his throne stood, and his garden—treeless now—where he withdrew to ponder his many worries.¹³¹

Almost a decade before Orlandos's scholarly restoration, Kontoglou had raised the stakes of experience. What occurred in the interim decade, moreover, was the institutional establishment of domestic tourism. New organizations, hiking clubs, automobile clubs, and summer youth camps gathered the urbanizing Greek middle class and dispersed it into purely experiential journeys in the rural countryside. A national

129 K. Ouranis, "Η Φράγκισσα," *Νοσταλγίες* (Athens, 1920), collected in *Ποιήματα* (Athens, 1953), 70.

130 Orlandos, "Παλάτια και σπίτια" (above, n. 13), 10.

131 Ph. Kontoglou, *Ταξείδια* (Athens, 1928), 108–9.

bureau of tourism was founded in 1924, as were local hiking organizations. The Romantic incorporation of the historical landscape—the mountains, in particular—sought to inject the new physical activity of hiking with poetic content. When the Hiking Club of Athens made Kostis Palamas an honorary member in 1929, the poet responded with a letter: “The Fifth Canto of the ‘Emperor’s Reed’ was nourished by love and the mountainous air. It has not gone in vain. . . . The poet [like you] is a hiker. Poetic energy is an arduous climb towards the heights.”¹³²

Tourism became a central vehicle for the dissemination of national propaganda in 1936, following the dictatorship of Metaxas. A subministry of Press and Tourism was founded immediately after the coup of 4 August and was given direct jurisdiction over the dissemination of Greek heritage (Law 45/1936).¹³³ The restoration of sites like Mystras became an even stronger mouthpiece for the narrative of the Greek Third Reich, “the Third Greek Civilization,” founded on the pillars of family, religion, and country. The institutional bridge between tourism and the media allowed for the direct exploitation of archaeological sites for propaganda. The audience, moreover, ceased to be local. Multilingual advertising campaigns sought to highlight restored sites like Mystras. Orlandos was centrally involved in the campaign of the Bureau of Tourism to dramatize ancient sites, starting naturally with the ancient theaters. An official policy of reviving theatrical performances at the Theater of Herodes Atticus in Athens was sponsored by the Bureau of Tourism in 1930. In 1938, Orlandos supervised the restoration of the theater as well as the Roman Odeum in Patras.¹³⁴

A 1930s poster published by the Automobile and Touring Club of Greece to entice visitors to Mystras sets the visual stage. Oranges frame a scene of a walled medieval town perched on the side of a mountain. An automobile’s sensuous curves cut through the lower edge of the poster and wind up a road that meanders

through a mountain pass. The poster commands in French: “Visit Greece by Car.”¹³⁵ Sizzling yellows and oranges focus our attention on the medieval town rising above the palmetto trees. Mystras is here drawn in the sensuous tones of an exotic Mediterranean that were canonized by the posters of the 1931 International Colonial Exposition in Paris.¹³⁶ Although not identified as such, our destination is none other than the iconic Mystras, where the French Crusaders built a castle and the Byzantine Greeks revived Hellenic civilization at the dawn of the Renaissance. Francesco Perilla, whose signature is visible in the poster’s upper left corner, drew this luscious landscape as an invitation to experience Mystras directly. Perilla published more of his vibrant drawings in a 1929 monograph on Mystras that sought to marry art and travel, as well as to illustrate the monumental history of Greece in abstract hues.¹³⁷ Perilla’s drawings of Mystras were included in an exhibition of more than a hundred watercolors held at the headquarters of the Automobile and Touring Club of Greece.¹³⁸

A journey to Mystras begins with Perilla’s poster or Kontoglou’s travelogue because it best illustrates the popular environment within which the scholarly project of Mystras evolved. Our attempts to distinguish Perilla’s Mystras from that of Orlandos and to demarcate the domains of popular fantasy from positivist science miss the creative relevance of early twentieth-century historiography. Orlandos’s adoption of an objective stance in “The Palaces and Houses of Mystras” encouraged readers to forget the highly subjective atmosphere that surrounds the essay’s creation. At its core, Orlandos’s study urges us to reconstruct, imagine, and employ medieval monuments in our experiential

132 K. Palamas, *Αλληλογραφία* (1929–41), ed. K. G. Kasimi (Athens, 1981), 3:28–29.

133 G. Christopoulos and I. Bastias, eds., *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού έθνους 15: Νεώτερος ελληνισμός από το 1913 ως το 1941* (Athens, 1978), 386. See also M. Petrakis, *The Metaxas Myth: Dictatorship and Propaganda in Greece* (London, 2006).

134 P. Lemerle, “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1938,” *BCH* 62 (1938): 460; Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση* (above, n. 60), 243.

135 There is little scholarship on the motoring clubs of Greece. For comparisons with British motoring, see B. Piers, *The Motoring Century: The Story of the Royal Automobile Club* (London, 1997).

136 S. J. Eksilon, *Graphic Design: A New History* (New Haven, 2007), 181–83.

137 F. Perilla, *Mistra: Histoires franques, byzantines, catalanes en Grèce. Notes d’art et de voyages* (Athens, 1929).

138 The Greek press reviewed the show positively but understood its touristic limits. “[Perilla] saw Greece with the eyes of a traveler, and he endowed its most pleasant and picturesque landscapes with color. The aspirations of the works, however, are from the perspective of pleasant memories rather than fine art”: A. Doxas, “Τρεις εκθέσεις ξένων ζωγράφων,” *Ελεύθερος Άνθρωπος* (December 1930), newspaper clipping found in Georg von Peschke Archive, Newport Beach, CA, courtesy of Marianna P. Monaco.

dreams. Approaching the site as “a complete Byzantine city, lacking only its inhabitants,” the reader enters an urban stage set and reinvigorates life. He inhabits the ruin and fills the absent cracks of time with living characters. Orlandos’s own drawings in the essay are illustrative, bringing the medieval monument to life on the scholarly pages. More aggressively than the reconstruction drawings themselves, Orlandos’s intervention in our imagination took a physical form. Orlandos did not imagine Mystras on paper alone, but he actually rebuilt it as director of restoration of monuments.

Investing in the site of Mystras made sense from a diachronic perspective. The ancient site of Sparta may have claimed greater prestige than nearby Mystras in the Western imagination, but it was poor in monuments. When the nineteenth-century painter Joseph Gandry needed to represent Sparta, he had to reconstruct it entirely from his imagination.¹³⁹ The British School had begun excavating the ancient site, but little was visible.¹⁴⁰ Baedeker’s travel guide warned tourists to curb their expectations: “The visitors to these remains of one of the most famous cities of the ancient world must not raise their expectations too high. The relics of ancient Sparta are scanty and insignificant.”¹⁴¹ The disappointed explorer would thus climb up to Mystras, only three and a quarter miles to the west, for some visual stimulation. Unable to reconcile Sparta’s monumental poverty, some early visitors, like Bernard Randolph, claimed that Mystras was actually Sparta.¹⁴² Although physically towering over Sparta, Mystras was under the shadow of its ancient predecessor. For even those that correctly distinguished the two, Mystras’s glory was built on Sparta’s abandonment and the fateful collapse of antiquity.

Mystras was a dramatic townscape that was selected by Orlandos to represent Byzantium’s basic values. Between 1920 and 1939, it was the centerpiece of Byzantine restorations throughout Greece. In her study of the historic preservation of Byzantine monuments,

Eleni-Anna Chlepa stresses Orlandos’s widespread use of reinforced concrete, the removal of any later additions, and the mimicking of original historical form in new constructions. This strategy may have assured the survival of the monuments but failed to produce necessary documentation. Chlepa adds that Orlandos’s methods of preservation had profound repercussions in how Byzantine monuments were restored in Greece through the 1970s.¹⁴³ What Orlandos first executed at Mystras in the 1930s defined the practices of historic preservation for the rest of the century: lack of documentation, undifferentiated mimicking of historical masonry, the removal of later additions, and the gratuitous use of concrete and steel.¹⁴⁴

Orlandos learned preservation under the tutelage of Nikolaos Balanos, specifically in the restorations of the Propylaia on the Acropolis in Athens. Beginning in 1912, Orlandos was Balanos’s assistant and was given directorial roles in many projects, such as the restoration proposal for Hadrian’s Gate.¹⁴⁵ Balanos was trained as a railroad engineer and had little understanding of preservation theory. He operated autonomously and created no documentation drawings for his restorations. His style of restoration on the Acropolis involved cutting up marble pieces and attaching them to architectural elements. He also made extensive use of modern structural elements such as steel. His steel beams that presently hold the epistyles of the Propylaia reveal his education as a railroad engineer. Balanos’s modernist style of restoration became the subject of intense criticism, with Orlandos as chief spokesman. In 1922, he initiated a campaign to stop his mentor’s restorations with a document polemically entitled “Pro Parthenone.” In the pamphlet, Orlandos regrets his involvement in the Acropolis project and condemns any further restorations. Interestingly enough, Orlandos here takes Ruskin’s anti-restoration position, which called for the preservation of monuments

139 M. S. Roth, C. Lyons, and C. Merewether, *Irresistible Decay* (Los Angeles, 1997), 46–47, 107.

140 G. Dickins, “Laconia, II: Excavations at Sparta, 1906. § 13.—Topographical Conclusions,” *BSA* 12 (1905–6): 431–39, and “Laconia II: Excavations at Sparta,” *BSA* 12 (1905–6): 415–30.

141 K. Baedeker, *Greece: Handbook for Travellers*, 4th ed. (London, 1909), 365–66.

142 B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea: Called Anciently Peloponnesus* (Oxford, 1686), 8.

143 E.-A. Chlepa, “Τα βυζαντινά μνημεία στην Ελλάδα: Αντιπροσωπευτικές επεμβάσεις και αποκαταστάσεις (1833–1939)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Athens, 2008); summary in *Αρχαιολογία Online* (3 March 2010). J. Jokilehto, “Work of Orlandos,” in *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford, 1999), 189–91.

144 For the history of historic preservation in Greece, see Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση*, and Ch. Bouras and P. Tournikiotis, eds., *Συντήρηση, αναστήλωση και αποκατάσταση μνημείων στην Ελλάδα, 1950–2000* (Athens, 2010).

145 Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση*, 170.

as ruins.¹⁴⁶ Balanos responded to Orlandos's criticism, and the incident was broadly covered by Greek newspapers and even by *The Times*.¹⁴⁷ Orlandos's German mentor, Dörpfeld, took the side of Balanos. Orlandos's criticism was considered by the archaeological community but did not damage the reputation of Balanos, who retained his position until 1939, when Orlandos succeeded him as director of restorations on the Acropolis.

The desire for the reconstruction of a provocative environment needs to be considered in the context of mass tourism and the qualitative difference in the representation of medieval versus ancient monuments. Having received less respect than the great eras of antiquity, around which archaeology was born as a discipline, the Middle Ages were represented with great laxity. Foreshadowing the early modern emergence of national identities, the Middle Ages of Europe conveniently served populist nation-building ideologies. Medieval monuments were malleable. The tumultuous decades between the two great wars produced a need for national fervor and mass spectacle, which medieval monuments fulfilled.

Having been underrepresented in museums during the nineteenth century, medieval art became the new museological frontier of the 1930s.¹⁴⁸ Orlandos's work on Mystras served a dual purpose: to represent Hellenism's late beacon in international scholarship and to create a viable museum that would attract tourists. Orlandos tried a similar recipe at the site of Sikyon. After excavating a Roman bath, he rebuilt its walls to enclose the site museum.¹⁴⁹ It is a strategy that did not gain much favor in the history of Greek museums but precedes the American Stoa of Attalos museum at the Athenian Agora.¹⁵⁰

146 Ruskin was criticizing the work of Viollet-le-Duc in the cathedrals of France.

147 Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση*, 182–83.

148 E. B. Smith, ed., *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting 1800–1940* (University Park, PA, 1996).

149 A. Orlandos, “Ανασκαφή Σικυώνος,” *Πρακτ. Αρχ. Έτ.* (1931): 73–83; Y. Lolos, “Studies in the Topography of Sikionia” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998), 76.

150 The Stoa was reconstructed in 1953–56 with the financial assistance of John D. Rockefeller Jr. The project was supervised by New York architects W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum; see H. A. Thompson and A. Frantz, *The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens* (Princeton, 1959).

The year 1930 was critical for Byzantine museology in Greece. In October 1930, the Greek banker Dionysios Loverdos converted his house into a Byzantine museum in time for the Third International Byzantine Congress in Athens. Loverdos's house was designed by esteemed neoclassicist Ernst Ziller, for whom Orlandos worked in 1908. The lack of any Byzantine museum space would have been embarrassing for the Greek hosts of the Congress, whose general secretary was the thirty-two-year-old Orlandos. Orlandos's older colleague Zachos was called to design the displays for the exhibition. Zachos left the neoclassical exterior intact, and designed eighteen period rooms in which he installed Loverdos's private collection of carved wooden ceilings, altar screens, furniture, lighting fixtures, and icons.¹⁵¹

Although the Society of Christian and Byzantine Archaeology was formed in 1884, it did not have a dedicated space to exhibit its collection.¹⁵² Villa Ilissia, a house built by the eccentric Duchesse de Plaisance, was converted into a national museum.¹⁵³ Here as well, Zachos designed three period rooms made of disparate archaeological fragments.¹⁵⁴ Also in 1930, Anthony Benakis opened his own house museum that included room reconstructions, such as a complete wood-paneled room from Kozani.¹⁵⁵ The fever for Byzantine display was also caught by the American excavators of Corinth. In 1930, American School director Rhys Carpenter built a faux Byzantine structure directly over

151 M. D. Vatalas, “Λοβέρδου, Μουσείον,” in *Μεγάλη ελληνική εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, ed. P. Drandakis, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1956–65), 16:184–87.

152 On the history of Byzantine museology in Greece, see O. Gratziou and A. Lazaridou, *Από τη Χριστιανική Συλλογή στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο (1884–1930)* (Athens, 2006), and in English, A. Lapourtas, *1884–1930: From the Christian Collection to the Byzantine Museum* (Athens, 2002).

153 The house was originally designed by Stamatis Kleanthis (student of Karl Friedrich Schinkel) in 1840–48. The duchess was the granddaughter of William Moore, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1781. She acquired her aristocratic title “Duchesse de Plaisance” through her husband Charles Lebrun (son of Napoleon's minister of finance), whom she left before moving to Greece in 1829: V. Scully, Jr., “Kleanthes and the Duchess of Piacenza,” *JSAH* 22 (1963): 145–48.

154 Room A, replica of an early Christian basilica; Room C, replica of Byzantine church; Room D, replica of post-Byzantine church; see G. A. Soteriou, *Guide to the Byzantine Museum of Athens*, trans. P. Drossoyianni (Athens, 1962), 7, 10, 13.

155 M. Chatzidakis, *Benaki Museum: A Short Guide*, 3rd ed. (Athens, 1961), 7–8.

the foundations of an excavated tenth-century house, known today as Carpenter's Folly. Although it never opened its doors, it was intended to display Corinth's freshly excavated Byzantine sculpture, which Orlandos had admired in the 1910s. During World War II, locals dismantled the beams for firewood, thus precipitating the building's ultimate abandonment.¹⁵⁶ Unlike the houses of Mystras, the difference between original and reconstruction is more evident in Corinth. The upper walls are thinner than the original foundations. The marbles immured in the new wall for display are clearly documented in publications.

The fashion for domestic museums (Loverdos, Carpenter, Benakis) in the 1930s must have highlighted the dearth of archaeological scholarship on the Byzantine prototypes emulated by the house museums. With most attention given to churches, little preservation work had been expended on medieval houses. Embarrassingly enough, the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese had resulted in more monumental restorations than in Greece. Mussolini commissioned an aggressive restoration campaign in Rhodes. The medieval Street of the Knights was restored in 1916 to provide an experience of the Venetian Middle Ages. In place of truth and accuracy, Rhodes created a colonial display of a Latin patrimony in the heart of the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁵⁷ Having served as headquarters for Western monastic orders, Rhodes fueled Italian archaeology under Amadeo Maiuri.¹⁵⁸ The same year that Orlandos published his essay, the Fascist colonial government began the restoration of the Palace of the Grand Master in Rhodes. The palace became a collage of original and reconstructed medieval masonry. Medieval monuments also blended with modern

constructions that looked medieval, such as the Albergo delle Rose hotel (1925–27) or the Bank of Rome (1930).¹⁵⁹

D. Medina Lasansky has shown that Fascist Italy restored medieval monuments not only to reify the regime's cyclical historical legitimacy but also to provide a background for mass spectacle. Like Mystras, medieval Arezzo received monumental attention in 1928–33, after a "monument brigade" was founded in 1925.¹⁶⁰ Arezzo, Florence, Siena, and San Gimignano were transformed into sites of public festivals and jousting competitions for public consumption. The medieval was redefined as modern, and new towns incorporated medieval elements.¹⁶¹ Jordana Mendelson has shown that creative reconstructions of the Middle Ages were also important in Fascist Spain.¹⁶² Archaeology under Franco conspired to the reconstruction of history.¹⁶³ But even before Franco, medieval palaces were over-restored for purposes of national prestige and regionalist pride. Leopoldo Torres Balba, for example, single-handedly redesigned the Alhambra. One difference between Torres Balba and Orlandos needs to be stressed. Greek architectural circles were largely disengaged from critical debates in historic preservation, especially the competing schools of Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc. In Spain, the confrontation between the two schools erupted as early as 1919.¹⁶⁴ By monop-

156 Kourelis, "Byzantium and the Avant-Garde" (above, n. 58), 402–10. Orlandos's good relations with the American School are evident in his excavations at Daphni, where the American School lent him pumps to excavate the monastery's crypt.

157 The restored Street of the Knights became an icon of the Crusades, as for example in H. Lamb, "The Road of the Crusaders: A Historian Follows the Steps of Richard the Lion Heart and Other Knights of the Cross over the 'Via Dei,'" *National Geographic Magazine* 64, no. 6 (Dec. 1933): pl. I, and "Ageless Luster of Greece and Rhodes," *National Geographic Magazine* 83, no. 4 (Apr. 1938): 487.

158 Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts* (above, n. 56), 184–86.

159 S. Martinoli and E. Perotti, *Architettura coloniale italiana nel Dodecaneso 1912–1943* (Turin, 1999), 444–50.

160 D. M. Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park, PA, 2004), 107–43.

161 Medieval elements were incorporated into the new neighborhoods of Garbatella. A 1936 poster promoting tourism to Sabaudia (by Sandro Tovagliari) resembles Perilla's poster of Mystras; a new town visibly incorporates medieval urban-planning elements. See *ibid.*, 145–81, 194–98, fig. 207.

162 J. Mendelson, "From Photographic Fragments to Architectural Illusions at the 1929 Poble Espanyol in Barcelona," in *Architecture and Tourism* (above, n. 68), 129–46; J. Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929–1939* (University Park, PA, 2005).

163 M. Díaz-Andreu and M. Ramírez Sánchez, "Archaeological Resource Management under Franco's Spain: The Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas," in *Archaeology under Dictatorship* (above, n. 98), 109–30.

164 M. Díaz-Andreu, "Islamic Archaeology and the Origin of the Spanish Nation," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (above, n. 95), 68–89; J. Calatrava, "Leopoldo Torres Balbas, Architectural Restoration and the Idea of 'Tradition' in Early Twentieth-Century Spain," *Future Anterior* 4, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 40–49;

olizing Byzantine restorations, Orlandos silenced all dissenting opinion. No “Anti-Scrape” Society ever formed in Greece.¹⁶⁵

The establishment of public festivals for the mass consumption of history is better known in the Fascist spectacles of Italy, Germany, and Spain. In Greece, the Metaxas regime formally integrated public parades and festivals into daily life. But the spectacle of creative reenactment began in the 1920s, particularly in the celebrations commemorating the War of Independence. Greece’s national holiday, 25 March, did not become the official day of commemoration until 1918, when the Byzantine historian Spyridon Lambros formalized 1821 as the official year of the revolution. While serving as minister of education, Lambros realized the need to mark some official starting point for Greek Independence, as well as to celebrate the centenary with fanfare.¹⁶⁶ The objective of this centenary Festival of Liberty was to “To make History come to life [. . .] it should be, as it were, both visible and audible,” according to Lambros. One of the masters of ceremony was Orlandos, who served as vice-chairman of the committee for monuments, member of the subcommittee for the visual arts, and member of the committee for the war memorial.¹⁶⁷ Restoring the Theater of Herodes Atticus and finding a home for the Byzantine Museum and the Museum of the Historical and Ethnological Society were top priorities for the committee. Archaeological sites throughout Greece became centers for performance that included ancient drama, Byzantine arts, costume, and music. Thus Orlandos oversaw the animation of archaeological sites in the service of mass propaganda. Orlandos’s severe architec-

tural restorations of the Odeum in Patras, the Theater of Herodes Atticus in Athens, and the Byzantine city of Mystras can all be experienced as lifeless architectural monuments, but they were not intended as ends in themselves. Orlandos’s leadership in the Central Committee of the Centenary Commemoration implicates archaeological monuments into a larger national choreography targeted toward experience. The dramatic agenda culminated in two events that attracted international notice: the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930, conceived by the poet Sikelianos and his American wife Eva Palmer-Sikelianos.¹⁶⁸ The festivals revived ancient ideals of poetry and drama, but also incorporated Byzantine music and crafts. Orlandos’s activities in the Centenary Commemoration Committee were so successful as to earn international visibility. More than half of the December 1930 issue of the *National Geographic Magazine* was devoted to a photographic portrait, “New Greece, the Centenarian, Forges Ahead.” Mystras, “the finest Byzantine town in the world,” reached international mythology: “Here, as at Mount Athos and Meteora, the Middle Ages linger on.”¹⁶⁹

Looking across the Mediterranean, we cannot fail to notice that Orlandos represents the Zeitgeist of ambitious restoration and a need to romanticize the Middle Ages toward emotive ends. The pressure to gain a representative and experientially engaging medieval town was generated internally from Greece’s nationalist fantasy and externally from a desire to compete in the international marketplace of tourism and presentation.

Toward a New Architecture

Orlandos’s professional identity can be subdivided into three zones: archaeology, restoration, and design. But in the 1920s and 1930s, the three zones commingled into a single enterprise. The archaeological preoccupation of the houses of Mystras cannot be separated from Orlandos’s own architectural designs, or from his leadership in current debates over the nature and character of Greek modernism. Once we investigate Orlandos’s mentors, peers, and opponents, the prominence of one fundamental concern becomes undeniable. Despite their scholarly novelty, the houses of Mystras were

D. F. Ruggles, “Inventing the Alhambra,” talk at “Seeing the Past—Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Symposium in Honor of Professor Renata Holod,” Philadelphia, 2009.

165 “Anti-Scrape” was the popular name of the Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded by William Morris, Philip Webb, and J. J. Stevenson in 1877. Following Ruskin, Morris felt that buildings should not be restored to an idealized historical moment. The society continues to operate in the United Kingdom. E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (London, 1955), 226–41.

166 The Greek War of Independence had no defined starting point, as it began in different places at different dates. The date 25 March 1821 is an artificial starting point.

167 D. F. Markatou, “Archaeology and Greekness on the Centenary Celebrations of the Greek State,” in *A Singular Antiquity* (above, n. 4), 310–11.

168 G. Gregoris, *Σικελιανός 1884–1951* (Athens, 1981), 169–73.

169 M. O. Williams, “New Greece, the Centenarian, Forges Ahead,” *National Geographic Magazine* 63, no. 6 (Dec. 1930): 673.

only one link in a larger chain of meanings intended to find appropriate residential form for bourgeois (*astike*) Greek society. To that end, Orlandos engaged directly with the past and with the future, addressing in one sweeping gesture Greece's architectural legacy and its confrontation with the International Style of architecture in the form of the multistory apartment block (*polykatoikia*).

The smooth intellectual flow from archaeology to design is evident in Orlandos's architectural designs, which include forty-two new churches.¹⁷⁰ Influenced by the fashionable Jugendstil of the 1910s, Orlandos embraced a neobyzantine style mastered by the architect Zachos, sixteen years his elder.¹⁷¹ While also restoring hundreds of Byzantine churches, Orlandos developed the alter ego of a Byzantine architect. He signed his name in medieval script and identified himself as "the master craftsman" (*protomastor*) in his dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁷² His architecture students at the Polytechnic University, moreover, saw him not as an objective investigator of Byzantium but as the very embodiment of the Byzantine tradition, literally the "continuator" (*synechistes*) of Byzantium, passing the torch of medieval knowledge to the next generation.

The creative license developed by the neobyzantine architects while restoring old and designing new churches is best illustrated by St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, a project that Orlandos inherited from Zachos. After the devastating 1917 fire of Thessalonike, Zachos became the consulting architect in the monument's rebuilding. Zachos supervised the reconstructions from 1926 until his death, in 1939, at which time Orlandos took over the designs and execution of the project.¹⁷³ The Zachos/Orlandos reconstruction

features a brick-and-stone cloisonné masonry style that is archaeologically incorrect. Cloisonné is an iconic style of middle Byzantine architecture that emerged centuries after St. Demetrios. Historically inaccurate, the exterior walls medievalize an early Byzantine basilica and turn it into a hyper-Byzantine monument. In recent times, the restoration of St. Demetrios has been criticized for its intentional fallacies and represents what one should avoid.¹⁷⁴ Comparing Zachos's proposal with Orlandos's execution, moreover, we find that Orlandos took even further liberties by dissolving the differentiation between old and new masonry and by using concrete where Zachos had intended authentic timber beams. The lack of differentiation between old and new pervades Orlandos's entire restoration oeuvre. It renders the architect's role invisible and masks structural chronologies and archaeological stratigraphy. As Orlandos did not keep notebooks during the course of his restorations, it is difficult to backtrack and undo his aggressive interventions. A comparison of old photographs, together with geophysical analysis, might allow for the dismantling of Orlandos's new masonry, but such a project has not been a priority of Greek preservationists.

When Orlandos first climbed the site of Mystras, he brought along a set of preoccupations that he had developed with his two intellectual colleagues, his mentor Zachos and his exact contemporary Demetrios Pikionis. In 1923, Zachos published an influential article in Germany arguing that Greek vernacular architecture is the direct descendant of Byzantine domestic architecture but carefully avoiding any reference to the Ottoman period.¹⁷⁵ By clearing contemporary rural culture of four centuries of Ottoman influence, architectural folklorists fabricated ethnically pure continuities between Byzantium and the present. Orlandos's erasure of Ottoman Mystras belongs to this intellectual agenda. In spite of an ideological fixation with "Greekness" (*Ellenikoteta*), Zachos set in motion a serious scientific project to document vernacular buildings. For Zachos, the battleground over Greekness was

170 A. Petronotis, "Ο αρχιτέκτων Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος," in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος* (above, n. 22), 265–392.

171 Phessas-Emmanouil and Marmaras, *Twelve Greek Architects* (above, n. 92), 2–45.

172 For instance, in the west wall of St. Dionysios, Kolonaki, Athens. The Byzantine master mason is more elusive than his Western medieval counterpart; see R. G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999).

173 The publication of St. Demetrios began as an international project with Peter Megaw, David Talbot Rice, and Humfry Payne as contributors. After Payne's and Zachos's premature deaths, in 1936 and 1939, the publication passed on to the Greek Archaeological Society: see G. A. Soteriou and M. G. Soteriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1952), ζ'–η'.

174 K. Theodoridou-Tsaprali and C. Maupoulou-Tsioumi, *Η αναστήλωση των βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών μνημείων στη Θεσσαλονίκη: Έκθεση αναστηλωτικών εργασιών, 30 Νοεμβρίου–31 Δεκεμβρίου 1985* (Thessalonike, 1985), 18–24.

175 A. Zachos, "Ältere Wohnbauten auf griechischen Boden," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst* 7–8 (1922–23): 247–50.

located in northern Greece, which had recently entered the nation-state after two bloody Balkan wars. Proving the Greekness of vernacular architecture in Macedonia paralleled the cleansing of Turkish and Slavic elements in the newly conquered territories.¹⁷⁶ As an archaeologist, Orlandos could offer an additional historical leap to connect the Byzantine house with the ancient house and thus complete a seamless continuity of unadulterated Greekness free of Slavs, Bulgarians, Turks, Jews, and Italians.

Orlandos's engagement with the new discipline of vernacular domestic architecture dates to 1917. His notebooks of 1917, 1922, 1923, and 1924 contain analysis of vernacular houses, including a study of his ancestral home. Although Orlandos did not publish on houses until the 1930s, he began his vernacular studies at the same time as Zachos in the 1910s.¹⁷⁷ Orlandos gave his earliest formulations of the houses of Mystras in a 1924 public lecture. His audience was enthralled by the nationalist discourse of vernacular architecture, as Orlandos conceived of Mystras as the direct ancestor of vernacular architecture. The discipline of Greek folklore (*laographia*) began formally in 1882, but the inclusion of architecture occurred only in 1924, when Orlandos's intellectual circle enlarged the range of folklore to include houses.¹⁷⁸ As Orlandos declared, the key functions of *laographia* were "literary" and "patriotic or archaeological."¹⁷⁹ Stressing the resemblances between Byzantine and vernacular homes valorized Greeks, especially those with middle-class ancestry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Orlandos's own

ancestral home in Spetses, for example, was similar to the houses of Mystras.¹⁸⁰ Whether truly Byzantine or not, these domestic resemblances showed Orlandos himself in the guise of a descendant of Byzantium.

The realms of archaeology and creativity joined ranks in a 1924 house that Zachos designed as a model of neobyzantine modernism. Commissioned by the folklorist Angeliki Chatzemichali, the house embodied features from Mystras and duplicated them in downtown Athens.¹⁸¹ Folklore built a bridge between the archaeology of Byzantium and modern life. Chatzemichali's own contribution to the field was monumental, starting with her popularization of crafts from Skyros in 1925.¹⁸² Like her neobyzantine architect friends, Chatzemichali had her targets set on the future. Documenting folk arts was only part of the equation: reviving their manufacture was even more critical. In the spirit of the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts Movement, Chatzemichali founded training schools and manufacturing workshops to revive the dying crafts of carpentry, weaving, and embroidery for middle-class urban markets. The revival of folk arts was also embraced by Americans in Greece. Eva Palmer-Sikelianos, for instance, incorporated folk textiles in the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930 and tried to market them internationally in 1931.¹⁸³ Such efforts were highlighted in Greece's international image, including coverage in *The National Geographic Magazine*.¹⁸⁴

176 A. Zachos, "Αρχιτεκτονικά Σημειώματα: Ιωάννινα," *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 3 (1928): 295–306; *Thessaloniki through the Lens of Aristotelis Zahos 1912–1917* (Athens, 2002).

177 Ch. Bouras, "Η προσφορά του Αναστάσιου Ορλάνδου στη μελέτη της λαϊκής αρχιτεκτονικής," in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος* (above, n. 22), 579–602.

178 N. Politis had founded the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, to which Orlandos belonged. Politis started a Society of Greek Folklore in 1908 and the journal *Λαογραφία* in 1918. M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York, 1984), 110–22.

179 Lecture delivered during the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Folklore Research Center of the Academy in Athens. A. Orlandos, "Το έργο του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας," *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας* 20–21 (1969): 6, quoted in Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, 11, and in Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford, 2007), 74.

180 D. A. Zakythenos, "Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος ο Πιτυούσιος," in *Αναστάσιος Ορλάνδος*, 48.

181 The Chatzemichali House held the patron's folk collection. The house is currently the Athens Museum of Folk Arts.

182 Chatzemichali published the first monograph on Greek folk art, a study of Skyros in 1925, and the first comprehensive overview of Greek folk art, published in Paris in 1937. Chatzemichali's monograph on Skyros singlehandedly transformed the tastes of interior design, legitimizing Byzantine domestic interiors for modern consumption. Every 1920s middle-class house in Athens had what became popular as a Skyros *saloni*. The fashion passed to American expatriates, who fell under the spell of the style and brought a great number of Skyros chests, chairs, and stools to the United States. A. Chatzemichali, *Ελληνική λαϊκή τέχνη: Σχύρος* (Athens, 1925); *Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1931; Paris, 1937); *La maison grecque* (Athens, 1949).

183 E. Palmer-Sikelianos, *Upward Panic: The Autobiography of Eva Palmer-Sikelianos*, ed. J. P. Anton (Philadelphia, 1993), 142. Palmer-Sikelianos's own textiles can be seen at the Museum of the Delphic Festivals at Delphi.

184 Williams, "New Greece" (above, n. 169), 663.

The fervor of Zachos and Orlandos for vernacular architecture was matched by Pikionis, whose 1925 essay "Our Folk Art and Us" influenced an entire generation of architects. The essay was published in a short-lived journal created by Kontoglou.¹⁸⁵ Unlike Orlandos, who split his efforts between architecture and scholarship, Pikionis devoted his entire career to transforming his generation's agendas into a viable architectural style. During the 1980s, Pikionis won international recognition as a paradigmatic practitioner in Kenneth Frampton's thesis of critical regionalism.¹⁸⁶ The Architectural Association in London promoted Pikionis as a counter- or post-modern master and translated his writings into English.¹⁸⁷ Credited by Western scholarship as the single most important Greek architect, Pikionis has overshadowed Orlandos's architectural reputation. Orlandos was not only Pikionis's friend in college, but they taught together at the Polytechnic University. As a team, they established a pedagogical program that valorized Byzantium and vernacular architecture.¹⁸⁸

Orlandos's "Palaces and Houses of Mystras" not only created an ethnically continuous cultural narrative but also addressed a second, more complicated, problem, namely, Greece's relationship with the emerging international language of modernism. Housing was central to the development of the International Style, as Western European architects faced the challenges of urban conflict and egalitarian accommodation for the unionized proletariat. Public housing was a main concern for Greece, especially after the refugee crisis caused by the Asia Minor incidents of 1922. When Eleutherios Venizelos returned to power in 1928, he initiated one of Greece's most intensive public

welfare projects, which was financed primarily by foreign loans. Correspondence between the American ambassador in Greece and Franklin D. Roosevelt suggests that Venizelos's public projects offered inspiration to the American New Deal.¹⁸⁹ Housing was thus a matter not only of style and ethnic identity but also of social survival.

The archaeological exploration of the houses of Mystras gains an entirely new dimension once we consider Orlandos's parallel preoccupation with the future of modern Greek housing and his engagement with the debates of contemporary architecture. Modernist formulations regarding housing were drafted during the fourth meeting of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, better known as CIAM. The congress produced a manifesto known as the Athens charter. CIAM was organized in 1928 and first met in a Swiss castle. The world's leading architects convened CIAM in order to standardize the elements of modern architecture known as the International Style and address universal issues of housing and urbanism. The next two CIAM congresses, in Frankfurt (1929) and Brussels (1930), aligned the architectural debate even more precisely with housing. The fourth and most important CIAM congress, explicitly dedicated to the functional city, took place on the Greek ship *SS Patris* en route to Athens. CIAM IV produced the blueprint for modern town planning known as the Athens Charter. The Charter defined four fundamental types of function—living, working, recreation, and circulation—and placed housing at the epicenter of architectural preoccupation. "The basic nucleus of town planning is the living cell (a dwelling) and its introduction into a group constitutes a unit of habitation of suitable size."¹⁹⁰

Although Greeks played a minor role in the drafting of the charter, the congress took place in Greek waters and called for an inevitable engagement by Greek architectural culture, for which Orlandos became the chief spokesperson. Orlandos's response to the Athens Charter was so influential that it defined the agendas of Greek modernism for the next four decades. Orlandos

185 D. Pikionis, "Η λαϊκή μας τέχνη κι εμείς," *Φιλική Εταιρεία* 1, no. 4 (1925): 145–58, repr. in *Κείμενα* (Athens, 1987), 53–69. Pikionis also illustrated D. Loukopoulos's essay on the houses of Aitolia.

186 K. Frampton, "Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity," in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), 313–27.

187 Ibid.; Dimitris Pikionis, *Architect 1887–1968: A Sentimental Topography* (London, 1989). For an analysis of Pikionis's paving of the Acropolis hill, see A. Loukakakis, *Living Ruins, Value Conflicts* (Aldershot, 2008), 251–79.

188 The training of modern Greek architects at the Polytechnic University replicates the methods of documenting vernacular architecture established by Zachos, Orlandos, and Pikionis. Sadly, the incredible graphic archive produced every year by the Polytechnic students burned in a fire during the early 1990s.

189 T. Gallant, *Modern Greece* (London, 2001), 152–53; J. O. Iatrides, *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports: Greece, 1933–1947* (Princeton, 1980).

190 W. J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1982), 173.

was not a member of the Greek CIAM delegation, but as current dean of the School of Architecture he formulated an official response.¹⁹¹ In order to celebrate the Athens Charter and synthesize some national response to the new architecture, an audience of 300 met at Hotel Cecil in Kephisia on 8 February 1933.¹⁹² Orlandos gave the keynote address, which was consequently published in *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* / *Les Annales techniques* along with the first official publication of the Athens Charter. Thus Greek readers were introduced to the Athens Charter with Orlandos's commentary. Orlandos stressed Greek architecture's fundamental commitment to modernism with, however, the caveat that inspiration be drawn from indigenous Greek traditions. Orlandos asked his audience to visit the Greek islands and study the modest vernacular architecture of Greece, where he or she would discover the "direct prototypes of modern architecture."¹⁹³ Architectural historians have taken Orlandos's 1933 speech to contain the fundamental elements of Greek modernism as it developed in the twentieth century, namely, the resolution of two extremes, progress and tradition, by means of a unique synthesis available only to Greece. Greek modernism accepted the technical and artistic innovations arriving from a technically superior West while also finding typological origins for its vocabulary in the Greek architectural tradition.¹⁹⁴

The synthesis between modernism and tradition for contemporary architectural debates is central in understanding the ideological narrative behind Orlandos's treatment of Mystras. In other words, the houses of Mystras gained currency after the acceptance of the Athens Charter because they could naturalize the International Style into a Greek idiom and satisfy the principal requirements of a national modernism as defined by Orlandos, Zachos, and Pikionis. Orlandos's "Palaces and Houses of Mystras" is therefore not concerned simply with discovering the principles

of Byzantine domestic architecture but rather in establishing a formal "Greekness," the eternal principles of which can blossom in the twentieth century. Special attention was given to architectural features that link Mystras to the ancient Greek house, on the one hand, and the vernacular Greek house, on the other. One fundamental feature of the houses of Mystras that Orlandos sought to define typologically was the self-contained vertical block on hill slopes. The insights of CIAM reveal resemblances in the houses of Mystras to the low-rise blocks that the Charter of Athens sought to standardize. With Mystras as a legitimately Greek precedent, the reinforced concrete apartment block with protruding balconies could, therefore, enter the vocabulary of modern Greece. The comparably late urbanization of Athens led to a building boom that featured such blocks. During the 1920s and 1930s, housing became the greatest commodity, with urban legislation attempting to impose regulation on building heights. The size of balconies overseeing the street became a subject of great debate, leading to the 1923 law, which duplicated Berlin's regulations of bays (*Erker*).¹⁹⁵ Connecting the houses of Mystras with Greek vernacular architecture essentially legitimized the concrete apartment block that emerged as a new domestic standard for both refugees and the middle class.¹⁹⁶

In creating a continuous thread of domestic Greekness, however, Orlandos faced one very obvious problem, namely, the typological gap between the courtyard houses of antiquity and the block houses of Byzantium. The houses of Mystras may resemble nineteenth-century vernacular houses and twentieth-century apartment blocks, but they have nothing in common with the horizontal courtyard houses of ancient Greece. Orlandos's relationship with the German archaeological community offered early access to excavated ancient houses. The site of Priene, which was excavated between 1895 and 1898 by the German Archaeological Institute, had produced some of the earliest evidence of Greek urbanism and ancient domestic architecture. Although Orlandos was not directly

191 The Greek delegation included John Despotopoulos, I. E. Saporta, and Stamo Papadaki; see E. Mumford and K. Frampton, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 77–78.

192 D. Philippides, *Νεοελληνική αρχιτεκτονική* (Athens, 1984), 190.

193 A. Orlandos, "Αι ημέραι του συνεδρίου εν Ελλάδι," *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 44–46 (1933): 1002.

194 G. Lavvas, "Η αρχιτεκτονική των επαναστάσεων και των δικτατοριών: Μορφολογία της ελπίδας και της ανάμνησης," *Αρχιτεκτονικά Θέματα* 9 (1975): 40.

195 A. Damala, M. Zambas, and E. Coromvilis, "Η αστική πολυκατοικία στην Αθήνα, 1920–1940/The Urban Apartment Building: Athens 1920–1940," *Αρχιτεκτονικά Θέματα/Architecture in Greece* 12 (1978): 125.

196 The earliest apartment block in Athens is dated to 1930; see Philippides, *Νεοελληνική αρχιτεκτονική*, 223–36.

involved with the excavations at Priene, he used the archaeological evidence to make a reconstruction drawing that proved both inspirational and influential. His colleague Pikionis writes about his second architectural commission, the Karamanou House in the new suburb of Patesia, Athens (1925): “The house was inspired by a reconstruction drawing of an ancient house in Priene that Orlandos drew. When I saw the drawing, I said to myself, ‘now this is something Greek and its elements do not belong in any specific categories of time or space.’”¹⁹⁷ Disseminated widely by Orlandos’s reconstruction, a Hellenic house developed in Pikionis’s projects. Four decades later, we see influences making a full circle. When Orlandos designed the Archaeological Museum in Messene, in 1969, we see Pikionis’s influence on Orlandos via the latter’s Priene reconstruction.¹⁹⁸

Architects like Zachos, Pikionis, and Orlandos, who stressed a universal Greek language, confronted the tension between picturesque medieval walls and the pristine walls of antiquity. Orlandos specifically had to build a rhetorical bridge between his influential Priene reconstruction and the evidence from Mystras. The solution to this paradox was subtle, with emphasis placed on the balconies and promenades of Mystras, the equivalent of the modern *Erker*. Orlandos argues that the Byzantine residence was just as much invested with openness, transparency, and the outdoors as the ancient residence. Due to growing insecurity, however, Byzantines built vertically for defensive reasons. They had no choice but to abandon the horizontal courtyard. An overwhelming national love for openness could not be suppressed. Thus the windows and balconies of Mystras were a reconfiguration of the Greek spirit in producing the solar (*eliakos*) that, for Orlandos, is the characteristic feature of Mystras. The internal transparency of antiquity was translated into external openness. Using Byzantine words that did not exist in demotic Greek, Orlandos calls the upper balcony of Mystras the solar. This revival of ancient and Byzantine terminology was evident in Zachos’s vernacular research from the 1920s as a strategy to purify architecture of any non-Hellenic influence. Orlandos’s research on ancient terminology produced a fascinating philological project, a dictionary of ancient architectural terms that has not

been surpassed.¹⁹⁹ Beyond understanding their etymological origins and meanings, Orlandos ultimately sought the revival of this vocabulary for the modern practitioner.

Le Corbusier had made promenades an important component of the new architecture. Calling it *promenade architecturale*, this new concept entered the top list of architectural features. Le Corbusier’s manifesto *Towards a New Architecture* was already a decade old by the 1933 CIAM Congress and had become modernist gospel. There Le Corbusier wrote, “Architects note: The value of a long gallery or promenade—satisfying and interesting volume.”²⁰⁰ Inspired by his 1911 trips to Greece and the architectural design of ocean liners, Le Corbusier’s attention to promenades lurks behind Orlandos’s discussion of balconies. Le Corbusier’s journey to Greece as a young man offered a convenient lineage, an immediate point of reference for Greek architects to fantasize some Greek origins for Le Corbusier’s radical new architecture.²⁰¹ Le Corbusier’s visit to Greece and his constructed Mediterraneanism thus legitimized his radical architectural vocabulary as Hellenic.²⁰²

The balconies of Mystras allowed for a visual connection with the Greek landscape, which for Orlandos’s generation offered the fundamental modernity of Greece. Greek modernism’s most influential manifestos—“The Greek Line” and “The Greek Colors”—were written by Periklis Giannopoulos in 1901 and 1903. “Why should we import foreign ideas?” asks Giannopoulos. “Our projects must have a Greek typology, character and mentality that should harmonize with the Greek environment, with the Greek sky, with Greek tradition, with the mountains.”²⁰³ Giannopoulos argued that the clarity of the Greek landscape with all its contrasts, coupled with the brightness of Greek light, produced a unique aesthetic sensibility that was simultaneously modern and national.

197 D. Pikionis, “Αυτοβιογραφικά σημειώματα,” *Ζυγός* 27–28 (1958): 7.

198 Petronotis, “Ο αρχιτέκτων” (above, n. 170), 372–73, figs. 126–28.

199 A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Travlos, *Λεξικόν αρχαίων αρχιτεκτονικών όρων* (Athens, 1986).

200 Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris, 1923).

201 C.-E. Jeanneret, *Voyage d’Orient: Carnets* (Milan, 2002); *Journeys to the East*, trans. I. Zaknic (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

202 On Le Corbusier’s Mediterranean cult, see M. McLeod, “Le Corbusier and Algiers,” *Oppositions* 19/20 (1980): 53–85.

203 P. Giannopoulos, “Η ελληνική γραμμή,” *Ανατολή* (May 1901), repr. in *Άπαντα*, ed. D. Lazogiorgou (Athens, 1963), 1:16–32.

Giannopoulos's dramatic suicide, riding a white horse into the sea, turned him into a celebrity among artists and intellectuals. Orlando's mountainous houses of Mystras offered a promenade from which to consume mystically Giannopoulos's Greek light.

The utilization of southern European historical prototypes for modernist domestic form is not, interestingly enough, limited to Greece. Even in neighboring Turkey, similar architectural narratives to those of Orlando were choreographed.²⁰⁴ Southern European states, more generally, seem to have identified modernism with an extension of indigenous historical traditions, attributed to the clarity of Mediterranean light or to some ingrained formal rationalism. Such theories were articulated as "Mediterraneanism," "Rationalism," or "Latinism."²⁰⁵ Italy's historicist modernism resembles Orlando's position most closely, and we cannot underestimate the personal relationships between individual architects and artists. The Italian metaphysical painter Giorgio de Chirico, for instance, knew Orlando from their school days, when they both attended the Polytechnic University.²⁰⁶ Greeks and Italians confronted a tension in the Athens Charter, which encouraged the demolition of old city centers that did not employ CIAM's functionalist principals. As Jeffrey Schnapp has shown, Italian urbanists reconciled history and CIAM in 1933 with the urban design of Pavia.²⁰⁷

Employing indigenous domestic architecture to usher in modernity is most evident in the writings of Giovanni Michelucci, who in 1932 published "Sources of Modern Italian Architecture." The essay juxtaposed vernacular houses, or "architettura minore," with modern form, and it was published in the premier

architectural journal *Domus*, whose title reveals the obvious preoccupation with the modern home when the journal was founded in 1928.²⁰⁸ Domestic architecture thus "passes through a process of conceptual and linear purification."²⁰⁹ As in the case of Mystras and Greek vernacular architecture, modernity was ideologically positioned parallel to tradition. Italian modernism's idiosyncratic relationship to history resulted in Italy's early development of postmodernism. Orlando's compromise of accepting the International Style through the appropriation of the houses of Mystras suggests a similar postmodernist strategy that architectural historians have so far identified only with the classical tradition.²¹⁰

During the 1920s and 1930s, a small group of intellectuals, writers, artists, folklorists, and architects sought to elevate the Greek home to the paradigmatic architectural type. Since it had been ignored by nineteenth-century scholarship as a lesser building type, the battle for legitimacy was steep and heroic. Its objectives were radical: to elevate the homes of ordinary Greeks to the significance of monumental architecture. In the words of Dragoumis, one of the intellectual founders of Greek demoticism, "a flower pot with some basil can symbolize the spirit of a nation better than a tragedy by Aeschylus."²¹¹ The architectural translation of this principle is that a humble medieval or vernacular house could symbolize the spirit of Greece better than the Parthenon, just as the linguistic agenda was the replacement of Greece's official archaizing language with demotic. For Dragoumis, no less than for Orlando, domestic architecture was critical. The glorification of the Greek house in Orlando's article on Mystras had profound implications for modern Greek scholarship throughout the middle and late twentieth century. Orlando and Pikionis developed a new architectural curriculum for the Polytechnic University of Athens, where students traveled to the countryside and brought back to Athens archaeologically accurate plans and elevations of houses. Typological analysis continued to

204 E. Bastéa, "Dimitris Pikionis and Sedad Eldem: Parallel Reflections of Vernacular and National Architecture," in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, ed. K. S. Brown and Y. Hamilakis (Lanham, MD, 2003), 147–69.

205 A. Giakoumatos, "European Rationalism and Greek Architecture During the Period Between the Wars: A Critical Overview of the Autochthonous Architectural Production," *Αρχιτεκτονικά Θέματα* 16 (1982): 75–92.

206 Giorgio de Chirico was raised in Greece and attended the Polytechnic University before returning to Italy. His friendship with Pikionis was particularly strong; see A. Ferlenga, *Pikionis 1887–1968* (Milan, 1999), 9–11; G. de Chirico, *Hebdomeros: A Novel*, trans. M. Crosland (New York, 1988).

207 J. T. Schnapp, "Excavating the Corporatist City," *Modernism/modernity* 11, no. 1 (2004): 89–104.

208 *Domus* was founded by Gio Ponti in 1928; see C. Fiell, *Domus: L'arte nella casa, 1928–1999*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 2006).

209 R. Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 129–61, 297–312.

210 D. Philippides, "The Phantom of Classicism in Greek Architecture," in *A Singular Antiquity* (above, n. 4), 375–82.

211 Dragoumis, *Ελληνικός πολιτισμός* (above, n. 21), 117.

flourish under Georgios Megas, whose research became an instrument of reconstruction after World War II.²¹² Megas's ground plans take Orlandos's typologies to mad-deningly ahistorical extremes. The house is completely removed from any sociohistorical or economic context. The graphic juxtaposition of plans is used to make arguments about evolution and development. Orlandos's ahistorical evolutionary model proved to be ideal for the Cold War. It gave pseudo-scientific legitimacy to old nationalist agendas, and it kept architectural studies safely clear from the Marxist discourse of class, labor, and raw materials that rose naturally from the question of housing. Although under severe criticism by practitioners of the discipline of modern folklore, the typological house discourse held sway into the 1990s, most evident in the work of Nikolaos Moutsopoulos.²¹³ The glamorization of domestic form in the early twentieth century has facilitated its commercialization in the late twentieth century, when hundreds of Mystras-like houses have been stripped and converted into boutique hotels. The touristic rehabilitation of Peloponnesian houses began in the 1960s with a select group of Northern European philhellenes in places like Monemvasia and the Mani.²¹⁴ If Mystras had not been gripped so protectively by the Greek state, it might also have seen a revival of private summer tourism.

Conclusion

During the 1980s, a movement of archaeological theory challenged the hermeneutical equation between data (object) and the archaeologist who interprets the data (subject). Postprocessual archaeology, as this critical movement was termed, argued the impossibility of separating the ideological agendas of archaeology and the scientific data that it purports to collect. Archaeological pioneers like Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, and Christopher Tilley complemented field methods with a critical practice of self-analysis. Looking at current methods as well as older discourses reveals that material

artifacts cannot bypass the ideological filters of the civilization that interprets them. Dissecting the archaeology of the past could facilitate what Michel Foucault might have called the archaeology of archaeology.²¹⁵ The 1990s have seen an explosion of archaeological writings that expose the "common sense" modalities of archaeology as blatant instruments of power. During the last twenty years, historiographic scholarship has revitalized ancient archaeology through a multitude of reflexive approaches.²¹⁶ Byzantine archaeology, however, has been less engaged in the postprocessual project, which is in striking contrast to the inroads of poststructuralist theory in the discipline of art history. Thomas Mathews, Robert Nelson, Glenn Peers, and other Byzantine art historians have documented direct continuities between purportedly objective scholarship and modern agendas.²¹⁷ This paper reflects on the ideological underpinnings of

215 Processualism refers to archaeological theory and practices that emerged in the 1960s as an attempt to place archaeology on a rigorous scientific footing. Postprocessualism is a less centralized movement that emerged from many intellectual camps during the 1980s that collectively challenged archaeology's objective foundations. Postprocessualism chronologically corresponds to postmodern theory, although it did not emerge from the same concerns of literary theory and philosophy. For the history of archaeological theory and method, see M. Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, 2010), 89–121; C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practices*, 4th ed. (London, 2004).

216 Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins* (above, n. 179); V. Calotychos, *Modern Greece: A Cultural Poetics* (Oxford, 2003); N. Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago, 2001); C. Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago, 2009); S. Marchand, *Down from Mount Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton, 1996); R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007); J. F. Cherry, D. Margomenou, and L. E. Talalay, eds., *Prehistorians Round the Pond: Reflections on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline* (Ann Arbor, 2005); J. K. Papadopoulos, "Inventing the Minoans: Archaeology, Modernity and the Quest for European Identity," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005): 87–149.

217 Mathews, *The Clash of Gods* (above, n. 1); J. B. Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered* (London, 2003); F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700 A.D.* (Cambridge, 2001); R. G. Ousterhout, "An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture," *Gesta* 35 (1996): 1–33; *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, ed. H. A. Klein and R. Ousterhout (New York, 2004); R. Nelson, "Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art," *Gesta* 35 (1996): 3–10; idem, "Private Passions Made Public" (above, n. 1); Peers, "Utopia and Heterotopia" (above, n. 4).

212 G. A. Megas, *The Greek House: Its Evolution and Its Relation to the Houses of the Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

213 N. K. Moutsopoulos, "Συμβολή στην τυπολογία και τη μορφή της Ελλαδικής κατοικίας," in *Πρακτικά του Β' Συμπόσιου Λαογραφίας του Βορειοελλαδικού Χώρου: Κομοτηνή* (Thessalonike, 1976), repr. in *Η αρχιτεκτονική μας κληρονομιά* (Thessalonike, 1984), 103–49.

214 A. G. Kalligas and C. A. Kalliga, *Μονεμβασία: Ξαναγράφοντας σε παλιμύνηστα* (Athens, 2006).

Byzantine archaeology as constructed by Orlandos but is informed by a larger study of international archaeological discourse in the interwar period.

The site of Mystras has had a tremendous cultural impact on Byzantine studies, and the archaeology of its houses entered forcefully into cultural debates between the two World Wars. Like the Acropolis of Athens for the classical period, Mystras became Greece's idealized archaeological locus for the consumption and representation of the Middle Ages. It was transformed into an idealized dwelling for a neobyzantine consciousness both in the geopolitical arena of the Greek state and in the imaginative space of modern mythology.²¹⁸ The archaeological material in Mystras has never been fully subject to thorough archaeological inquiry. Outside the art historical lens of style, Mystras has never been scrutinized for positive evidence on the archaeology of settlements as defined by processual archaeology and beyond. In all its ideological glory and domestic exceptionalism, Mystras best illustrates how factuality was used to construct modern identities in an age when Byzantium was considered to be a matter of life and death, a matter of national survival or extinction. The practice of archaeology is inevitably circumscribed by what Bruce Trigger defined as three modalities: colonialism, nationalism, and imperialism. This paper investigates the role that the houses of Mystras played within this archaeological spectrum.²¹⁹

218 The exceptional artistic status of Mystras has been challenged by T. Papamastorakis, "Reflections of Constantinople: The Iconographic Program of the South Portico of the Hodegetria Church, Mystras," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. S. Gerstel (Washington, DC, 2013), 371–95.

219 B. Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist," *Man* 19 (1984): 355–70. For a revision of Trigger's typology in relation to Greece, see Y. Hamilakis, "Decolonizing Greek Archaeology: Indigenous Archaeologies, Modernist Archaeology and the Post-Colonial Critique," in *A Singular Antiquity* (above, n. 4), 274.

The study of churches is the default concern of Byzantine architectural history. During the early twentieth century, philosophical and psychological anxieties over modern dwelling led to new formulations such as Sigmund Freud's "unhomely," Martin Heidegger's "dwelling, building, thinking" equation, *Wohnkultur*, the house museum movement, and the cult of Mediterranean domesticity.²²⁰ The intellectual eruption of domestic anxieties in Greece was made manifest in Orlandos's discovery of the houses of Mystras. His landmark publication of 1937 served a complex web of functions from literature to ideology, from historical scholarship to creative reconstruction. Untangling some of the web's underlying threads does not undermine the intellectual significance of Orlandos's accomplishment. Rather it affirms its status as a classic of modern historiography.

Franklin & Marshall College
Department of Art and Art History
P.O. Box 3003
Lancaster, PA 17604

220 C. F. Otto, "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: The Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany," *ArtJ* 43 (1983): 148–57; S. Freud, "The Uncanny" (1919), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. J. Strachey (London, 1953), 17: 219–52; M. Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. A. Hofstadter (New York, 1971), 145–61; L. V. Coleman, *Historic House Museums* (Washington, D.C., 1933); R. T. H. Halsey and E. Tower, *The Homes of Our Ancestors as Shown in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Garden City, NY, 1925). For a good introduction on the idiosyncratic challenges of houses in cultural studies, see A. Blunt and R. Dowling, *Home* (London, 2006); and for the American intellectual tradition, see A. T. Friedman, "The Way You Do the Things You Do: Writing the History of Houses and Housing," *JSAH* 58 (1999): 406–13. On the relationship between houses and modernism, see V. Rosner, *Modernism and Architecture of Private Life* (New York, 2005).